

ORDER FOR CONSIDERATION OF S. 1888 TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I am authorized by the distinguished majority leader to propound the following unanimous consent agreement:

I ask unanimous consent that upon the disposition of S. 1570, the unfinished business, the Chair lay before the Senate Calendar No. 165, S. 1888, a bill to extend and amend the Agricultural Act of 1970.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the time for debate on S. 1888 be limited to four hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the distinguished Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE) and the distinguished Senator from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS); that time on any amendment thereto be limited to 1 hour, with the exception of an amendment by the Senator from Maryland (Mr. MATHIAS) and an amendment by the Senator from New York (Mr. BUCKLEY), on each of which there will be 3 hours; and with the further exception that on a second amendment by the Senator from New York (Mr. BUCKLEY) there be a limitation of 2 hours; provided further, that time on any amendment, debatable motion, or appeal there be a limitation of 30 minutes, and that the agreement be in the usual form; with the further proviso that three amendments by the Senator from Indiana (Mr. BAYH), which were offered in committee, and which we think are germane, but regardless of whether they are germane, in view of the fact that they were offered in committee, and also in view of the fact that they have been discussed on the floor of the Senate today with the Senator from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS) and not challenged, be in order.

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object—and I shall not object if one modification can be made—I now have a third amendment, on which I should like to have 2 hours.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Very well.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on a third amendment by the Senator from New York (Mr. BUCKLEY) there be a 2-hour limitation; and that the agreement, as I have already stated, be in the usual form.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and it is so ordered.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, what is the pending question before the Senate?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The pending question is on agreeing to the amendment offered by the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. McINTYRE), No. 152, amending S. 1570.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I thank the Chair.

PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the Senate tomorrow will convene at the hour of 11:30 a.m. After the two leaders or their designees have been recognized under the standing order, the distinguished assistant Republican leader (Mr. GRIFFIN) will be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes, after which the junior Senator from West Virginia (Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD) will be recognized for not to exceed 15 minutes, after which there will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business of not to exceed 15 minutes with statements therein limited to 3 minutes, at the conclusion of which the Senate will resume its consideration of S. 1570, the unfinished business, the energy and fuels allocation bill.

The question at that time will be on agreeing to amendment No. 152, offered by the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. McINTYRE), on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

I would assume that morning business will be concluded by 12 o'clock to 12:15 p.m., tomorrow, and, in accordance with the previous order, there will be 10 minutes of debate, to be equally divided, on the amendment by Mr. McINTYRE, at the conclusion of which 10 minutes the yeas-and-nay vote will occur.

Consequently, Senators are alerted to the fact that there will be a yeas-and-nay vote on the amendment by Mr. McINTYRE around 12 o'clock noon or 12:15 p.m., somewhere along there, tomorrow. There will be other yeas-and-nay votes during the day. The final vote on passage of the bill will occur at 4 p.m.

After the vote on passage, the Senate will take up the so-called farm bill, on which there is a time limitation agreement. There will be no yeas-and-nay votes thereon tomorrow. The Senator from Georgia (Mr. TALMADGE) and the

Senator from Nebraska (Mr. CURTIS) will make their opening statements, they being the managers of the bill, and other Senators, of course, may also wish to speak thereon.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 11:30 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 11:30 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5:52 p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, June 5, 1973, at 11:30 a.m.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate June 4, 1973:

DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

Arthur I. Mendolia, of Delaware, to be an Assistant Secretary of Defense, vice Barry James Shillito, resigned.

SPECIAL ACTION OFFICE FOR DRUG ABUSE PREVENTION

Robert L. DuPont, of Maryland, to be Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, vice Dr. Jerome H. Jaffe.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate June 4, 1973:

IN THE ARMY

Army nominations beginning David J. Deka, to be captain, and ending Brian E. Rasmussen, to be second lieutenant, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record on May 25, 1973.

IN THE NAVY

Navy nominations beginning Rex. T. Aaron, to be ensign, and ending Capt. Ross B. Moquin, to be a permanent commander and temporary captain, which nominations were received by the Senate and appeared in the Congressional Record in May 11, 1973.

WITHDRAWAL

Executive nomination withdrawn from the Senate June 4, 1973:

Robert L. DuPont, of Maryland, to be Deputy Director of the Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, vice Paul Louis Perito, resigned, which was sent to the Senate on May 1, 1973.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

HON. JOHN M. MURPHY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, recently we celebrated the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the State of Israel. The citizens of Israel and the people of the world who made the creation of this state possible should feel

proud to look back over the years of struggle Israel has faced as a nation and the success she has had in facing the tremendous odds against such a venture.

Israel has developed a democratic government, has an expanding economy, a stable society, and has become a model of growth and achievement for many emerging nations. In meeting the challenges of a harsh, underdeveloped land, the Israelis have demonstrated an initiative and determination often characterized as the epitome of the pioneering spirit of the 20th century. Israel's progress has been recorded by economic in-

dicators, growth rates, and production figures, but these sometimes sterile numbers cannot describe the pride, the perseverance, or the sacrifices that have contributed to the making of Israel.

Let it be said that Israel's future is dimmed by uncertainty and danger. The war with the Arab States continues, and even when a settlement is found, it will take a long time to erase the hate, distrust, and shame generated by the dispute. But let it also be said that the United States of America is committed to the continued existence and sovereignty of Israel. It is my conviction that

a permanent peace in the Middle East can be achieved only if the sovereignty of Israel is acknowledged by the Arab nations. And we must accomplish this by face-to-face negotiations with the Arab nations to secure their agreement on and future acknowledgement of the boundaries of Israel.

It has always been my position that Egyptian leaders, Soviet leaders, and indeed the leaders of the entire Arab world should know that we do not intend to abandon Israel by default; that this country will maintain Israel's deterrent strength even while we negotiate; that the American Government and the American people are committed to this course of action, and, to assume anything less would be a fatal miscalculation on their part.

If we are to achieve the goals of peace in the Middle East we must demonstrate to the Arabs and the Soviet Union the danger of armed aggression and the futility of hoping to overwhelm Israel by brute force. We must demonstrate to them that the necessary course—the inevitable course—is a negotiated settlement recognizing the rights of Israel. And the way to do this is to make it clear beyond doubt that there can be no quick military victory over Israel, that any such action would be met with not only the same fury and the same resolve as in 1967, but with the military muscle needed to guarantee a mortal blow to the aggressor.

That is why I have always urged the Congress to make clear to the world in no uncertain terms this country's support for maintaining a balance of fire-power in the Middle East and an unequivocal commitment to not only the spirit but the letter of the U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 of November 1967.

A GROCER WHO CARES

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, there recently appeared in the Intermountain Observer of Boise, Idaho, an article on a very unique grocer who operates a store in Sandpoint, Idaho.

The article describes the efforts of Larry Inks to insure that his customers obtain the best possible buys—even if it means recommending that they shop elsewhere.

Written by Ken Miller, the article notes that:

Normally, people like Larry Inks go broke or get into social work, but he feels that the basic premise of honest retailing can pay off in return business and trust in his store's integrity.

Larry Inks, in short, is a remarkable businessman. I only wish there were more like him.

I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that this article be printed in the Extensions of Remarks. I believe Senators will find it of refreshing interest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Intermountain Observer,
May 12, 1973]
LARRY THE GIANT KILLER—SANDPOINT GROCER
TELLS IT LIKE IT IS
(By Ken Miller)

If a customer asks Larry Inks, owner of Inks Thrift Store in Sandpoint, if a certain can of corn is a good buy at the price, he might be answered with, "No, that's a low-quality product, I'd advise you buy this other brand" (sometimes at less money) or the incredible, "There's a sale on at Safeway, across town, and I can't beat their price on that item; maybe you'd do better buying it there."

A pair of hippies from a commune-type settlement several miles out of town came into Larry's store with a list which totalled \$800, only to have him ask to go over the list with them before they started filling their carts. He crossed off several items which he didn't carry, were cheaper at another store in town, or could be purchased cheaper in bulk form by ordering and waiting a week for delivery. The bewildered long-haired young man said to him before leaving, "I didn't think people like you were part of the establishment."

Normally, people like Larry Inks go broke or get into social work, but he feels that the basic premise of honest retailing can pay off in return business and trust in his store's integrity.

About a year ago, Inks was "fed up" with phony advertising claims and false and misleading labeling of canned foods, so he started his now "famous" (or infamous, depending on who signs your paycheck) "Consumer Seminars," at ladies' clubs and civic organization meetings in the area. His favorite attention-getter is to perform a "cutting," in front of 100 or more shoppers. A "cutting," in trade jargon, is the breaking open of several cans or jars of a similar product and actually counting chunks of meat, beans, kernels of corn, or thickness of syrup, etc. He enjoys bursting the bubble on highly-touted, nationally-advertised products which he considers "rip-offs," much to the chagrin of the product sales representatives.

Recently, he exploded the myth that Heinz is the "Slowest Catsup in the West," by turning a bottle of the famed catsup upside-down and then repeating the process with another, cheaper brand. He went through seven bottles of quick-flowing Heinz Catsup before getting an inkling of a flow from the lower-priced product. Although Inks repeatedly invites sales representatives from all the major manufacturers to attend his open seminars, they never show up, for obvious reasons. One product rep told him "they'd murder me if they started on my products." So Inks faces the consumer alone, but lays the blame for mislabeling and fraudulent marketing where it belongs. "I call a spade a spade..." he says smiling.

The Nalley's Sales representative told Inks that he intended to turn one of his "Consumer Corner" columns over to the company's legal department because in his weekly column Inks had told local consumers that Nalley's made Western Family (Private Label) chile and pancake syrup, among other items, and that the items were identical except for price. Nalley's denies that the items are identical, but another grocer supports Inks' claim, admitting that he has seen the pancake syrup flow into identical bottles from the same spigot and only later being affixed with the different labels.

"I told him I'd be glad to communicate with his firm's legal department, but these communications would appear in print in my column in the paper... I haven't heard from them since that." The Nalley's salesman also denied the chile and syrup were the same product, saying that the chile had "more beef in it" than the Western Family label. "After this statement," Inks said, "I invited him to my next consumer education

seminar at the Sandpoint Community Hall, and I'd have 100 consumers taste the syrup and count the number of beans and chunks of beef. He never showed up..."

The vice president of Del Monte products wrote Inks a letter after one of his now-famous seminars where a group of consumers had found Del Monte corn and beans of poor quality. The letter said the executive "would look into the matter." The firm's Veep then flew to URM headquarters in Spokane and held a "cutting" to convince the wholesaler that Del Monte products were excellent quality. Inks says, "The point is that the consumer found Del Monte's products inferior, not me! Yet Del Monte's man refuses to attend a consumer 'cutting' of his own product."

"I think the consumer is tired of being 'snowed' by false and misleading advertising," he explained. "He simply wants to receive fair value for his shopping dollar." The Sandpoint "giant killer" himself stocks old-fashioned barrels of bulk wheat (8-cents a pound), salt (4-cents), oats, soya beans, white and brown rice and Corona Grinders for the thrifty bulk buyer. "I encourage them to buy these bulk items and save their shopping dollars, even though I sell most of the bulk foods at my cost." He believes that this type of "corney, old-fashioned honesty" pays off in the fact that shoppers come back to buy where they know they can trust the man behind the store.

Another example of Inks' weird way of running a food market is epitomized by his meat manager Don Morton. Morton refuses to sell beef by the half and whole beef as "locker" meat if the customer is buying it this way to save money. "This isn't saving money," Morton explains, "it's only for convenience. The way to save money on meat purchases is to shop the specials and compare prices." Inks chuckles and gets mad simultaneously when he reads the ads of his competitors. "Best Service in town," "Tenderest Beef," "Lowest Prices," etc. "Hell, everybody can't be the best or honestly claim all those things, so why snow the customer or insult his intelligence with that kind of carnival advertising?"

Since he started writing his "Consumer Corner" column about seven months ago, shopper response has been more than he had hoped for. "It takes about a month for them to get used to reading an editorial column in an ad space, but once they started following the column, response has been fantastic," he says. "When I offered the option of stamps or a 2 per cent cash discount, I was flooded with calls and congratulations," he said. "That's when I realized they were reading... I mean really reading my column, and that's when I knew this whole thing of trying to educate them was worth the effort and all the homework I'd been doing."

Reading the shopping ad in the paper isn't the same in Sandpoint any more, and most of the town's citizens are glad. It's fun having a grocer to rap with who tells the big boys to go to hell when they threaten him and who lets the customer know who's ripping off whom. It also proves the point that the little guy, armed with facts and a thorough knowledge of his chosen line of business, can keep the corporate machines honest, or at least inform his buying public when they're not. Product manufacturers may not like Larry Inks, but they're staying out of his way.

POST CARD REGISTRATION INVITES FRAUD

HON. ROBERT P. GRIFFIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. President, the Senate passed and sent to the House a bill

to allow voter registration by post card. I opposed the measure and remain opposed to it.

Recently the Oakland, Mich., Press published a very perceptive editorial by Basil Stevens on the subject. It should be must reading for Members of the House of Representatives who will soon be voting on the issue.

Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Oakland Press, May 26, 1973]

**FEDERAL REGISTRATION BY MAIL TO LEAD TO
CONFUSION, FRAUD**
(By Basil Stevens)

In an effort to increase the number of voters in federal elections, the U.S. Senate has approved and sent to the House of Representatives a measure to allow registration by postcard.

While the bill applies only to elections for the presidency and both houses of Congress, encouragement was given to seek similar registration in state and local elections.

The proposal calls for postcards to be mailed from Washington, D.C., to millions of addresses around the country. Recipients would only have to fill out the cards and return them to state and local registrars for processing no later than 30 days prior to the election.

The pitch made by sponsors of the bill was the need to make easier the registration process for those persons unable to get to the county courthouse, usually due to working hour conflicts, or whose belonging to a minority group hampers their ability to register.

Some 44 per cent of the adult Americans—68 million persons—failed to vote in last November's presidential election. Conversely, of those actually registered, 87 per cent went to the polls.

While the idea behind the measure is good, enactment of the bill would create more trouble than the mythical opening of Pandora's box.

Use of the postcard system would cause numerous duplications of voter names, a situation that already has been experienced in Michigan since Secretary of State Richard Austin instituted a registration process at his department's various branch offices.

Clerks of the various communities—both city and township—in Wayne County recently were unanimous in denouncing the removal of the registration process from their offices.

Duplication, greater inaccuracy and higher cost of processing registrations from elsewhere and a lack of clerical control while having to retain responsibility were the most frequent criticisms by clerks of the new Michigan procedure.

As far as Wayne County clerks were concerned, the system simply wouldn't work.

In addition, setting up another registration procedure would probably require another federal bureau to handle the huge task. Cost estimates of a federal registration have run as high as \$75 million.

Even with such a costly federal bureaucratic procedure, how would the proposed system deal with persons owning more than one home—thus having more than one mailing address?

Also, how would it keep up in this mobile society of ours with those persons frequently moving from one area of the country to another? Or how many postcards would the government send to each household?

One of those in opposition to the measure is Sen. Sam Ervin, D-N.C.—better known now for heading the Senate committee investigating the Watergate affair.

Ervin feels the measure would offer "an

open invitation to people who are willing to do so to steal the election of the President of the United States and senators and congressmen. It would," Ervin goes on, "encourage registration of people who don't exist... or are sleeping in cemeteries."

Finally, the proposal is contrary to the U.S. Constitution, which reserves to the individual states the authority to establish qualifications of people who may vote for members of Congress. It also would make presidential elections federal in nature rather than state, also bypassing the Constitution.

Everyone eligible by law to vote should be provided an opportunity to do so and every effort should be made to register as many citizens as possible. However, the registration should be done as it is now—locally.

It's difficult to believe that anyone wanting to register isn't able to do so. In southeastern Michigan, at least, a person almost had to lock himself in his cellar for the several months preceding last November's election not to be approached by someone representing one special group or another trying to register potential voters.

Residents could have registered at any of numerous shopping centers or supermarkets, college campuses or even at their own doorsteps.

There seems little need to throw in the confusion—and potential fraud—that would be caused by registering by mail.

And who's to guarantee that the postcard would ever reach its destination?

U.S.S.R.—AN EMERGING NATION

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while Americans experience an ever increasing shortage of credit, that is, $6\frac{1}{2}$ percent to Federal Reserve member banks and 8 percent to nonmember banks as of May 11, we now learn that the U.S. Export-Import Bank has extended credits of \$180 million to the Soviet Union. Apparently the United States taxpayers' loan to the Soviets was to induce the Soviets to enter into an \$8 billion, 20-year fertilizer deal which is expected to be followed by an agreement for further importation of Soviet natural gas into the United States over the next 25 years.

Apparently the administration feels it is so fully in control of the Congress ratifying its deals that it did not feel it necessary to wait for Congress to designate the Soviet Union as a "most-favored-nation."

In fact, to make our two countries—the Soviet Union and the United States—more compatible, we now learn that NBC and the state-controlled radio and television networks of the Soviets are to exchange programs. It must be obvious that in merging a free people and free economic system with a slave state, all of the compromising and giving will come from the American people.

One of the first such exchanges of ideology via the mass media is the possibility that Communist Party Boss Brezhnev may address the Nation by television. It should be noted that he plans to avoid press conferences where questions could be asked.

At the same time we are advised that the Vietcong are ready to follow the lead

of their master, the Soviet Union, as they announce that they are ready to receive foreign aid "without any political conditions attached."

Who knows how long it will be before even North Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba will be given "most-favored-nation" cheap credit to buy American food and goods.

This is truly the story of the emerging, underdeveloped nations taking advantage of an industrialized, developed nation, and educated populace.

I include related newscippings:

[From the Washington Post, June 2, 1973]
**UNITED STATES ENDORSES TRADE DEAL WITH
SOVIETS**

(By Dusko Doder)

The Nixon administration yesterday formally endorsed an \$8 billion, 20-year fertilizer deal between the Soviet Union and Occidental Petroleum Corp. It is the biggest Soviet-American trade pact in history.

The endorsement followed an agreement in principle to extend \$180 million in U.S. Export-Import Bank credits to the Soviet government. The amount is to be matched by commercial loans from a consortium of banks and will be used for purchases of U.S. industrial equipment.

Both accords were concluded by Vladimir S. Alkhimov, deputy Soviet foreign trade minister, who has been here since May 10 to negotiate with U.S. officials. Sources close to these negotiations said Washington and Moscow were "awfully close" to reaching an agreement in principle on a multibillion dollar deal to import Soviet natural gas to the United States.

Alkhimov indicated in an interview yesterday that the Soviet Union may be forced to purchase more American grain this year, particularly if the harvest in the "virgin lands" of southern Siberia fails to meet Moscow's projections.

But he emphasized that the level of grain imports would be substantially less than in 1972, when the calamitous harvest forced the Soviet Union to import 28 million tons of grains.

The endorsement of the fertilizer deal was accomplished yesterday afternoon through an exchange of letters by Alkhimov and Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent.

The letters, which state that the fertilizer deal conforms to principles of the Soviet-American summit in May, 1972, and that the U.S. government sees no impediments to it, are said to be the first such endorsement of a transaction not arranged by the U.S. government.

The Soviet Union had insisted on Washington's written endorsement of the fertilizer deal. Moscow was said to have been unpleasantly surprised last December when an agreement with American natural gas companies to export liquified gas from Siberia fell through after the White House said it should await completion of a study on U.S. energy needs.

Six U.S. companies had already announced that they expected to sign the agreement by the end of December. They envisioned more than \$40 billion worth of Soviet gas to be delivered to the United States over 25 years. The agreement also called for investments totaling nearly \$13 billion in plants and pipelines in the Soviet Union and construction of tankers for shipments of liquified gas.

According to well-informed sources, Alkhimov and U.S. officials have discussed the natural gas deal during the past three weeks and are close to an agreement. But these sources said that any such massive project would have to be agreed on by President Nixon and Soviet leader Leonid I. Brezhnev during their scheduled summit here June 18 to 26.

According to the sources, Communist Party chief Brezhnev and President Nixon may agree on a protocol that would involve both governments and the interested companies. But this protocol would only state U.S. intentions to buy Soviet natural gas, with details of the complicated venture to be worked out later, the sources said.

While he was not willing to disclose any details, Alkhimov said yesterday that the Soviet Union was willing to permit independent testing of Siberian gas reserves. Moscow's refusal last year to permit American engineers to inspect Siberian gas fields was one of the objections that led the administration to discourage the companies.

Alkhimov said the fertilizer deal would involve about \$500 million in capital investments of which \$400 million would be spent in the United States for 10 plants to process ammonia.

Under the preliminary agreement reached with the Russians by Dr. Armand Hammer, Occidental's chairman, Occidental would provide technical help in building a fertilizer complex in the Soviet Union. Occidental would then buy about \$200 million annually in ammonia, urea and potash from the complex and would sell \$200 million in superphosphoric acid from its Florida plant.

After the signing ceremony yesterday, Alkhimov said that "this is really the first big transaction, it's a good start."

In addition to the \$180 million Export-Import Bank credit, which is to be signed next week, three U.S. commercial banks led by the Bank of America are to provide the remaining \$180 million in commercial loans. The Soviet Union's contribution to the initial investment will be \$40 million.

In discussing possible Soviet Union grain imports this year, Alkhimov said that it was too early to predict the amount prior to the fall harvest.

But, he said, "when you have had a bad harvest as we did in 1972, it is not easy to overcome that immediately."

Soviet Union grain purchases last year put heavy pressure on world grain markets, resulting in higher grain prices.

The skyrocketing prices prompted a wave of criticism in the United States, including charges of price rigging and conflict of interests in the period the Russians did their buying. Sen. Henry M. Jackson's permanent investigations subcommittee is conducting an inquiry into the matter.

Yesterday, the commodity exchange authority confirmed that it has asked the Justice Department to take over an investigation into alleged price rigging on the Kansas City commodity market.

Kansas City is the world's largest market for hard winter wheat, the only kind bought by the Soviet Union.

[From the Washington Sunday Star, June 3, 1973]

RUSSIAN BOND HOLDERS SEEK CONGRESS AID

Holders of czarist Russia government bonds urged Congress yesterday not to kill their chances to collect on them when setting up new trade relations with the Soviet Union.

The Russian Dollar Bondholders Committee of the U.S.A. called on the House Ways and Means Committee to reject a proposal in the pending trade bill that would repeal a ban on borrowing in this country by countries in default on earlier debts.

President Nixon has proposed extending to the Soviet Union most-favored-nation treatment in trade matters and facilitating sales of U.S. goods through credit arrangements.

The Soviet Union has agreed to negotiate U.S. claims for repayment of lend-lease assistance extended by this country during World War II.

But the claims pressed by Hubert Park Beck, chairman of the bondholders' committee, go back to World War I, when the czar's government in its final months raised \$75

million by selling bonds to private investors in this country.

Beck said in written testimony about 3,000 U.S. residents still hold the bonds, and their claims have been swelled by unpaid interest.

[From the Washington Post, June 1, 1973]

NBC-U.S.S.R. EXCHANGE PACT

NEW YORK.—The National Broadcasting Co. announced yesterday that it had signed a "wide-ranging, long-term agreement" with the Soviet Union to exchange television and radio programs and cooperate in other broadcast-related activities.

The agreement was signed by NBC President Julian Goodman; Sergei G. Lapin, chairman of the State Committee of TV Broadcasting of the Soviet Council of Ministers, and other members of both groups.

The agreement, said Thomas McManus, president of NBC International Ltd., followed four years of discussion and negotiation.

He said its main purpose is "to enhance the cooperation and understanding between the people of the United States and the U.S.S.R. through the exchange of radio and television programs."

News specials and documentaries that show life in the respective countries will be among the programs exchanged. Also included will be "pure entertainment" shows of music and variety.

The announcement did not say what specific entertainment programs might be swapped.

[From the Washington Post, June 2, 1973]

BREZHNEV MAY SPEAK ON U.S. TV

Soviet Communist Party leader Leonid Brezhnev will arrive in the United States two weeks from Sunday for eight days of talks with President Nixon and a trip that will take him to Houston, San Clemente, Calif., and perhaps two or three other American cities.

While the final schedule has not been completed officials said yesterday that Brezhnev is expected to address the American people by television. But he does not plan to hold a news conference or to speak at the National Press Club, where questions would be asked.

His predecessor, Nikita Khrushchev, spoke at the Press Club in 1959 and fielded some tough questions, including a few that aroused his anger.

The Brezhnev visit is described as a working one, with little time for sightseeing or public appearances. Most of his time will be spent in Washington or at Camp David, Md., where Khrushchev also visited when he was President Eisenhower's guest nearly 14 years ago.

The tentative plan is for the President and Brezhnev to meet first in Washington on June 18 and confer either at the White House or at Camp David through Thursday. On Friday, June 22, they plan to fly to Houston to visit the space center there and then go on the same day to San Clemente.

Brezhnev is expected to remain over that weekend in San Clemente, leaving Sunday night or Monday morning. He then may visit San Francisco, Detroit and New York, as well as the Soviet Embassy's country house in Maryland for a brief rest. But the final decisions on the last few days of the visit have not been made, officials said.

Mr. Nixon will say goodbye to Brezhnev when he leaves California.

[From the Washington Post, June 4, 1973]

VIETCONG REPORTED READY TO TAKE AID

HONG KONG, June 4.—The Vietcong's National Liberation Front has expressed readiness to receive foreign economic and technical aid and without any political conditions, the North Vietnam News Agency reported today.

Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the NLF Central Committee, was quoted as telling

a Hanoi newspaper that the Front and its Provisional Revolutionary Government "encourage Vietnamese overseas to invest their capital in order to rebuild the country. . . ."

The Vietcong "stand for the establishment of normal economic relations between North and South, increased trade and scientific and technological cooperation with foreign countries, and receipt of economic and technical aid from all countries without any political conditions attached," he said.

The agency said he gave the interview on the occasion of the Front's fourth anniversary, but did not mention where it took place.

A ONE-ROOM SCHOOL

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, there are very few one-room schools left in the United States; most of them have been victims of urbanization and school consolidations.

Idaho, however, has a few one-room schools still operating, one of them in the little mountain community of Yellow Pine.

Recently, the Associated Press carried a lengthy feature article on the school at Yellow Pine. In reading it, I am led to wonder if perhaps our large, modern school systems do not have a thing or two to learn of the experience of this tiny school with seven students and one teacher.

I commend this article to my colleagues, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Lewiston (Idaho) Morning Tribune, May 27, 1973]

YELLOW PINE'S ONE-ROOM SCHOOL CLINGS TO SURVIVAL

(EDITOR'S NOTE: As you deal daily with the hustle and hassle of modern living, you may lose hope of ever again sampling the simpler life of days gone by. But symbols of the simpler life still exist, and among them is the one-room school.)

(By Meredith Motson)

YELLOW PINE, IDAHO.—In these days when machines, computers, and electronic wizardry race to keep up with the needs of the classroom, it is understandable that some look back on the old one-room schoolhouse with genuine longing.

. . . A longing for a morning of crisp air, deer tracks beside the cabin, and a sudden race down the hill because the school bell was ringing and you had been gazing at the tracks too long. And there are your six school mates, laughing because they watched your canter down the mountain.

A TEACHER . . . AND A FRIEND

And there is your schoolteacher, whom you call by his first name because he is so much more than your schoolteacher.

This is the Yellow Pine School, one of the few one-room schools still operating in Idaho. But its future seems uncertain, and it may be in its final school year.

Isolated from the world by a ring of ragged mountains, the school stands in the tiny pocket that is Yellow Pine Basin. Named for the native tamarack, which turns gold and sheds its leaves in autumn, the town stands just inside the Idaho Primitive Area.

Snowbound most winters and accessible

only by a rugged mountain road in the summer, this is still the chosen home of an average 35 people, among them, the seven students and teacher of the Yellow Pine School.

Someone has scrawled "University of Yellow Pine" on the old wooden fences surrounding the school yard, and though the building is old and the playground equipment worn, something about that fence tells you, "Here is something special."

Inside, everyone is studying.

"Time for science lectures," announces the teacher, Jeff Fee. And you note they call him "Jeff" as he vacates his desk and goes to sit among them.

First to speak is Patsy Fullenwidner. She is an 8th grader and has a report on meteorites. Though shy in front of you, the stranger, she still keeps her tone conversational, explaining rather than reading her report, showing pictures from the book, and graciously showing them to you, too.

Other reports follow. Amy Montgomery, a 7th grader, has one on the nervous system. Ruth Underwood, a senior, speaks on biological stability.

THE 3 R'S AND TIME TO THINK

The two boys, Doug Christianson, a senior, and Clark Goodwin, a freshman, ply the girls with questions on their reports. The girls in turn test the boys to see how well they listened. Little Roxy Alexander, the first grader, sits attentive at her desk, appearing to absorb all this quite matter-of-factly.

Time for a test. Roxy goes out to play and the room falls silent.

"You see, I try to have them teach me," Fee explains. "Generally, I find they do better when they have to present their work to the class. They have to read the material to organize it, and then express it orally. And this way everybody gets an idea of what everybody else is reading."

"We generally take one or two subjects a day," he says. "Sometimes we have science all day. At first I started out on a regular day, but just when they were really getting into a subject they liked, we'd have to give it up and go on to the next thing. They felt like something was missing."

So, the Yellow Pine School has evolved that same sort of intensified subject matter, that some metropolitan schools are struggling to institute.

"Every Friday we take a field trip," says Fee. "We'll go look at an elk, or go up to the river to the beaver pond, or just go out to the frog pond with a microscope. I really try to take advantage of this area."

Raised in McCall as the son of a forest ranger, Fee grew up with a sense of the wilderness. Spending every summer in the old mining town of Warren and getting to know the ways of the old timers, the animals, and the woods, he later became a licensed packer and guide in the Idaho Primitive Area.

Though he later went on to major in sociology at Weber State College in Ogden, Utah, he always managed to return to the Idaho wilderness.

Last fall, when he returned to live in the teacher's cabin beside the Yellow Pine School, it was with his wife, Carmen, and their little boy, Shane.

"It was like coming home," says Mrs. Fee who had spent one previous summer in Yellow Pine, when Fee worked for the Idaho Fish & Game Department.

Teaching in a one-room schoolhouse seems to come naturally to Fee, having also taught in a similar school in Warren and on Indian reservations.

He says, "Here I feel students really have to learn a close respect for one another. Out there in the city they get many friends, but here they enter much deeper relations."

Ruth Underwood, one of the school's two seniors, echoes his feelings.

"I like it up here; it's so sociable," she says, on her way home to lunch. "Up here you know everybody and you're so much at

home. Last year I went to school in Redwood (Calif.) with 4,000."

As the others go off to lunch, Fee explains that, like Ruth, students are not usually at the Yellow Pine School for more than a few years before their parents move on. For this reason, he feels that although their books and studies are quite up to date, their greatest education comes from the experience of living in Yellow Pine.

Every so often he brings older people of the community in "to tell what it was like in the old days," so that his students can "get a sense of history" and learn to respect values which grew out of rougher times than their own.

During the lunch hour, the two boys go fishing, coming back empty handed, but with a snapshot of two deer they spotted just across the river.

Classes resume for the afternoon with English lessons and P.E. When weather permits, they run up the old mining roads or down the forest trails. When indoors, Jeff gives them karate lessons. "And every afternoon now," he adds, "we run up to the top of a hill and just sit down and think for five minutes."

MINIMUM WAGE

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, the House will consider legislation this week to increase the minimum wage to \$2.20 an hour. It is my opinion—as well as the opinions of hundreds of my constituents—that the House would do well to approach this issue with careful deliberation. In order to be completely objective in evaluating a proposed increase, it is necessary that we examine it on its own merits.

One area of concern which I think we should study particularly carefully is the impact an increase to \$2.20 would have upon small and independent business—and thus to the economy in general.

If the small businessmen and women in my district are any barometer, many of them will be forced to cutback on their number of employees if a higher minimum wage were enacted. They explain it quite simply—they cannot get by financially should they have to pay higher wage rates. They operate on a small profit-loss margin, and many report they are already facing a very tight economic squeeze.

This problem is not unique, nor is it limited to my congressional district.

A recent survey by a team of economists from the University of California at Berkeley conducted for the National Federation of Independent Business revealed that 37 percent of all respondents in a random sample of some 10,000-member firms indicated that their major response to an increase in the minimum wage would be forced reduction in their labor force, or in the number of hours their employees worked.

According to the survey, which was conducted among a representative cross section of NFIB's membership, the group most affected would be teenagers, with heads of families a close second. Single

adults, 18 years of age and over, ranked third.

This cutback in work force, or in hours worked, would be done not because the small business employer wanted to do so. The cutback would be a forced one—implemented by the employer only in order to survive.

Mr. Speaker, in light of the findings of this survey, I urge that careful consideration and deliberation be given to any immediate increase in the minimum wage at his point. As you may recall, in the last Congress, I supported an effort to "stretch out" any increase. I thought this would insure employees that their salaries would keep pace with the cost of living without having a serious inflationary effect. Although that minimum wage legislation was never enacted, it is my hope that this year we will balance all aspects in approving a minimum wage bill.

REMARKABLE WOMAN TEACHER IN WELLESLEY, MASS.

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, the outstanding efforts and accomplishments of one of my constituents have recently been brought to my attention. The remarkable performance of Mrs. Kerr is worthy of the highest commendation, and I would like to take this opportunity to share the following letter from Mrs. Eleanor Evans of Wellesley, Mass., with my colleagues by inserting it in the RECORD:

WELLESLEY, MASS.,
April 28, 1973.

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER,
Wellesley Hills, Mass.

DEAR MRS. HECKLER: At Hardy School on Weston Road, Wellesley, we have a 5th grade teacher, Mrs. Kerr, who is incredible to say the least. This year, Mrs. Kerr is hoping and working towards taking her 5th grade class to Mt. Rushmore in South Dakota for two weeks in June. The rental of the air conditioned bus for two weeks is over \$3,000. This teacher, a human dynamo, has raised \$2,300 and more coming. She is very humble and gives all the credit to her students and their parents. As of now the money is in the bank gaining interest. This 5th grade class has had two flea markets, a food sale, a car wash, 2 film festivals, a Western Trading Post and a supper at the ranch. Mrs. Kerr wouldn't want this known, but she prepared at home beef stew and fed 279 people at Hardy School totaling a profit of \$800 that day alone. Incredible, no?

Mrs. Kerr's main love in teaching is history. Every year for 13 years, she has put on an historical play to culminate what the children have learned all year.

As of now, the children have been raising in the classroom, pepper and tomato plants from seed which alone is an education and they will sell them with the money going towards funds for the trip.

I just might add that among her many credits, Mrs. Kerr is also an ordained minister. Also this year for the first time, she has undertaken another big task. She is presenting her historical play at the Wellesley Junior High School on May 4th and charging

a small admission fee to raise money for her class trip.

Some of us former mothers have been soliciting Mrs. Kerr's former students for a donation and the play will be sponsored by these former students. The response has been fantastic.

Is it any wonder I call this remarkable woman (teacher) to your attention?

Very sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) ELEANOR EVANS.

LIBRARY SERVICES CUT AND INDIANA

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, the President's budget proposals for fiscal year 1974 provide no funds for our Nation's public, school, or university libraries.

If we accept the President's plan, Mr. Speaker, all existing Federal aid to libraries, amounting this year to \$90 million for elementary and secondary schools, almost \$33 million for public libraries, and \$15 million for colleges and universities, will be terminated on July 1.

Recently, Mr. Speaker, the Indiana State Library analyzed the library needs in our State, as well as what Hoosier citizens have been able to accomplish as a result of the Library Services and Construction Act.

The State library found:

That 45 percent of the 241 public libraries in Indiana are located in buildings that are 40 years or more old.

That since 1961, when Indiana first accepted LSCA funds, 11 new library buildings have been completed, and 5 remodeled, at a cost of just over \$11 million, of which the Federal Government contributed only 27 percent.

That older libraries are now serving far more people, with far more books, than they were when built. In my own Third District, for example, the two libraries in Michigan City and New Carlisle are serving three times the number of people they served when first opened, and their collections have multiplied eightfold.

That the TWX teletype network, linking 21 public center libraries, 160 satellite libraries, and 4 State universities, will be drastically curtailed, if not completely eliminated if the President's budget proposals are accepted.

That since 1961 over 350,000 Hoosiers have been introduced to library services by 18 LSCA-funded bookmobile demonstration projects.

So that my colleagues, Mr. Speaker, may see the impact on just one State if we cut public libraries out of our Federal budget, I insert at this point several of the analyses completed by the Indiana State Library:

I. INDIANA LIBRARY CONSTRUCTION NEEDS

Of the 241 public libraries in the State of Indiana, 45% are located in buildings that are 40 or more years old. These 108 libraries are serving 2.5 times as many people today as when they were first opened and contain approximately 6.4 times as many volumes.

Libraries	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Over 60 years old.	255,364	616,421	208,984	1,296,340
40 to 59 years old.....	545,278	1,415,167	431,990	2,773,865
Total.....	800,642	2,031,588	640,974	4,070,205

Faced with a burgeoning population, the explosive increase of human knowledge and the inadequacy of space to handle both, many library boards were stymied. Fortunately, (1) the decision by the Indiana State Supreme Court that library boards were autonomous political corporations with the authority to issue bonds for construction purposes and (2) the availability of matching federal funds in Title II of the Library Services and Construction Act (LSCA) made it possible for many boards to find a way out of this dilemma. Colleges and universities benefited from the tax exemptions granted to individuals and foundations for gifts to institutions of higher learning as well as from federal funds authorized for library construction under the Higher Education Facilities Act.

Since the initiation of the LSCA program, eleven new library buildings have been constructed, four have built additions and one library has been remodeled. Total costs for all of these projects are:

Total federal money (27.2%) ---	\$2,998,312
Total local money-----	8,023,867

Total ----- \$11,022,179

During the past six months, seven libraries have indicated an interest in construction and twelve additional preliminary applications are on file.

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT BREAKDOWN OF OLDER LIBRARIES

DISTRICT I.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Whiting.....	7,000	7,247	3,576	154,675

¹ An increase of 15.29 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT II.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Boswell.....	814	1,391	849	13,741
Brookston.....	2,181	2,180	1,084	11,221
Crown Point ¹	2,500	23,277	1,850	30,865
Culver.....	2,464	3,563	1,281	12,867
Earl Park.....	609	867	1,272	11,060
Francesville.....	1,625	1,853	951	12,784
Goodland.....	1,595	1,570	4,363	17,080
Hebron.....	2,166	3,501	1,604	11,018
Kentland.....	1,209	2,294	1,661	15,803
Lafayette.....	22,486	44,955	45,486	100,475
Milford.....	3,100	3,142	2,548	13,336
Monterey.....	1,383	920	1,172	11,458
North Judson.....	2,105	4,140	963	15,463
North Manchester.....	2,428	8,015	1,794	19,412
Oxford.....	1,600	1,629	1,939	16,355
Pierceton.....	1,817	3,175	755	10,584
Plymouth.....	3,838	12,384	2,742	30,725
Ray Center.....	1,082	1,698	1,106	8,869
Valparaiso.....	7,971	70,747	7,856	79,140
Winamac.....	2,861	9,761	4,150	26,118
Total.....	66,374	201,062	85,426	468,374

¹ Crown Point's new library opened the first of 1973.

Note: From these figures, you can see, the libraries in your district are serving 3 times as many people as they did when they first opened and have 5.48 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT III.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Michigan City.....	14,850	45,064	8,699	67,163
New Carlisle.....	1,836	3,383	2,131	18,356
Total.....	16,686	48,447	10,830	85,519

Note: As you can see, these libraries are serving almost 3 times as many people as when their present buildings were first opened and contain almost 8 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT IV

LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Andrews.....	954	1,207	1,322	6,012
Angola.....	2,610	7,804	3,072	13,989
Butler.....	4,381	3,964	3,806	13,008
Fremont.....	729	1,543	775	8,820
Garrett.....	4,149	7,430	1,485	17,343
Huntington.....	10,000	16,217	15,000	48,822
LaGrange.....	3,700	20,890	2,701	39,925
Orland.....	500	1,083	1,779	7,615
Roann.....	1,800	1,616	1,548	8,007
Wabash.....	8,618	13,379	5,299	33,016
Waterloo.....	1,704	2,534	1,305	14,365
Total.....	39,145	77,667	38,092	210,922

¹ New addition built in 1972.

Note: As you can see from the above, these libraries serve almost 2 times as many people as they did when their buildings were first opened and contain more than 5½ times as many volumes as they did then.

DISTRICT V.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Akron.....	2,754	3,770	1,515	17,813
Atlanta.....	3,175	5,411	1,560	19,911
Converse.....	2,400	2,333	2,565	21,217
Farimount.....	2,056	3,427	3,392	7,009
Gas City.....	6,028	9,427	1,989	14,113
Kewanna.....	1,826	1,363	3,150	10,149
Rochester.....	4,000	13,034	2,162	43,572
Tipton.....	5,000	16,650	5,023	38,884
Van Buren.....	1,989	2,134	930	15,617
Walton.....	1,975	2,390	1,876	15,119
Total.....	31,203	59,939	24,162	203,404

Note: As you can see from the figures above, these libraries serve almost 2 times as many people as they did when their buildings were first opened and contain more than 8 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT VI.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Brownsville.....	2,465	12,602	1,775	18,375
Danville.....	2,000	5,819	2,500	23,199
Martinsville.....	5,000	12,745	2,604	26,416
Total.....	9,465	31,167	6,879	67,990

Note: As you can see from the figures above, these libraries are now serving more than 3 times as many people as they did when their buildings were first opened and contain almost 10 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT VII.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Attica.....	3,000	4,831	2,771	18,153
Bloomfield.....	2,069	4,336	3,300	15,941

DISTRICT VII.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD—Continued

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Brazil.....	10,000	8,678	5,000	(1)
Clinton.....	6,229	9,084	3,133	42,971
Colfax.....	1,860	1,312	1,213	8,320
Darlington.....	1,928	1,982	905	8,413
Flora.....	3,000	2,724	1,717	18,404
Frankfort.....	7,100	16,853	4,500	44,694
Greencastle.....	3,661	25,220	8,019	79,343
Kingman.....	1,987	1,348	677	6,376
Kirklin.....	1,774	1,377	633	14,344
Linden.....	1,244	1,220	797	8,392
Linton.....	5,906	7,383	2,147	23,909
Roachdale.....	849	1,712	1,751	8,793
Rockville.....	3,360	4,161	2,274	22,149
Sheridan.....	1,768	5,304	1,423	15,343
Spencer.....	2,150	6,336	3,095	21,980
Sullivan.....	3,118	19,889	2,091	70,682
Thorntown.....	2,499	2,111	4,674	10,882
Waveland.....	1,948	1,603	1,482	11,659
Westfield.....	700	4,789	2,254	14,432
West Lebanon.....	1,039	1,266	1,674	7,050
Williamsport.....	1,632	2,075	2,131	22,986
Worthington.....	2,677	2,116	3,294	13,538
Total.....	71,498	137,710	60,955	508,754

¹ Unavailable.

Note.—As can be seen from these figures, these libraries serve almost 2 times as many people as when they first opened their buildings and have more than 8 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT VIII.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Bedford.....	7,500	30,648	8,000	41,298
Evansville.....	70,000	138,764	30,000	70,282
Willard.....	69,647	168,772	9,935	444,629
County.....	2,507	3,788	880	12,735
Fort Branch.....	2,634	1,535	1,298	5,561
Grandview.....	6,482	7,390	1,929	14,382
Mitchell.....	3,510	10,696	3,240	13,526
Newburgh.....	4,279	2,760	1,615	14,305
Owensville.....	2,785	7,369	1,063	16,397
Paoli.....	800	2,551	600	10,203
Poseyville.....	6,041	11,206	7,400	41,393
Princeton.....	5,281	15,599	2,683	29,387
Rockport.....	3,485	3,339	1,787	10,220
Shoals.....	19,300	35,506	13,518	79,285
Vincennes.....	8,000	15,860	5,537	23,178
Washington.....				
Total.....	212,251	455,783	88,485	826,781

Note: As you can see, these libraries are serving 2 times as many people as they did when their buildings were first opened and they contain more than 9 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT IX.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Aurora.....	4,410	5,196	4,486	17,126
Brookville.....	2,169	6,563	903	26,429
Connersville.....	8,000	26,216	4,324	55,097
Corydon.....	1,703	6,241	1,203	12,956
North Vernon.....	13,280	19,454	3,218	29,584
Osgood.....	2,024	2,248	805	9,528
Rising Sun.....	2,812	4,289	1,361	17,498
Salem.....	2,400	8,025	3,000	16,721
Scottsburg.....	7,424	17,144	4,453	32,874
Seymour ¹	8,364	27,266	14,309	67,453
Vevay.....	9,950	6,306	4,653	21,980
Total.....	62,536	128,948	42,655	307,246

¹ Figures used are those obtained after the library was remodeled in 1928. When first opened, the library served 6,445 people and contained 2,509 volumes.

Note: As you can see from the figures above, these libraries are now serving 2 times as many people as they did when their buildings were first opened and contain 7 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT X.—LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now
Bluffton.....	5,000	23,644	7,001	65,870
Carthage.....	1,100	1,998	3,924	9,454
Fortville.....	2,773	5,034	1,386	24,196
Hartford City.....	8,000	10,013	2,849	22,605
Knightstown.....	2,008	2,456	4,151	10,793
Liberty.....	2,961	6,582	2,703	14,757
Montpelier.....	3,500	3,115	3,917	12,014
Richmond.....	18,226	51,104	34,149	95,371
Union City.....	3,000	5,339	2,700	25,001
Winchester.....	4,266	9,631	5,167	16,370
Total.....	50,834	118,916	67,947	296,431

Note: As you can see from these figures, these libraries serve more than 2 times as many people as they did when their buildings were first opened and contain more than 4 times as many volumes.

DISTRICT XI

LIBRARY BUILDINGS OVER 40 YEARS OLD

Library	Population served when opened	Population served now	Number of volumes when opened	Number of volumes now ¹
Indianapolis ²	233,650	764,702	211,967	1,040,109

¹ Based on 1971 Statistics of Indiana Libraries.

² Addition built in 1964.

Note: As you can see, the Indianapolis-Marion County Public Library now serves more than 3 times as many people as it did when its building was first opened and it contains almost 5 times as many volumes.

II. TWX TELETYPE NETWORK AND LSCA

"The TWX network has become the mainstay of our interlibrary loan operation." "We find the TWX to be a necessary factor in giving all our patrons good service."

These are but two of many favorable comments librarians have made about the Indiana teletype network—a Library Services and Construction Act project. Through the teletype network, 21 public "center" libraries, 4 state universities, and 160 "satellite" libraries share their collections—thereby allowing each to economize on book purchases and virtually eliminate duplication of materials.

Requests come from many people . . . doctors, students, teachers, businessmen, and the general public . . . and cover a wide variety of subjects. During National Library Week in 1971, the Columbus paper carried the following paragraph:

"If you were a reference librarian and a charming little girl asked you for information about the Great Molasses Flood, what would you do? Our first reaction was that we had misunderstood the question. But upon being assured that it really was 'molasses', we began looking for clues. After such obvious resources as encyclopedias, fact books, histories, and periodical indexes failed to yield results, we turned to our ally, the teletype . . . the librarian at Terre Haute teletyped us that he remembered having seen an article about the Great Molasses Flood in the June, 1968, issue of 'True' magazine. Another reference tool listed the Fort Wayne Library as subscribing to 'True' so the trusty TWX was put to use again to request a copy of the article. Fort Wayne answered that the article was not in 'True' but in the December, 1968, issue of the 'American Legion Magazine', and the next mail brought us a photocopy of the article. One delighted little girl and one amazed but proud ref-

erence librarian will never forget this particular answer."

The TWX network also enables businessmen to get information to help them in their operations; students and teachers can obtain books and information on research subjects; and doctors can get vital facts quickly confirmed. One Bloomington doctor found the answer to his problem by using the TWX. He had a patient who suffered fractures about every month. The doctor contacted his local library who, in turn, sent a message to the Indiana University Medical Library and soon the doctor received case histories of the rare disease and the names of other doctors who had treated it and their success. (If the I.U. Medical Library had not had the information, they could've contacted several other medical libraries in the country through the same special wire.)

Since the project first began in 1965, its use has increased greatly. The number of requests sent by the public libraries has risen almost 60%; while, for the four state universities and the State Library, they have increased 66%.

	Number of requests	
	1965-66	1971-72
Public libraries.....	5,243	13,266
4 State universities and the State Library.....	6,247	18,195
Total.....	11,490	31,461

If the President's proposed budget is approved, this vital teletype network, as well as many other LSCA projects, will be drastically curtailed if not completely eliminated due to stringent local budgets. Library Services and Construction Act funds provide libraries with the opportunity to grow and provide essential information to all citizens of the state through the use of many libraries' resources.

III. LSCA AND BOOKMOBILES

Indiana first accepted LSCA funds in 1961. Therefore 1961 has been used as the base year in the following analysis of the impact of LSCA bookmobile demonstration projects on Indiana library development.

Since 1961, 355,276 Hoosiers have been introduced to library service by eighteen (18) LSCA-funded bookmobile demonstration projects. These eighteen bookmobile projects have affected twenty-six (26) of the ninety-two (92) Indiana counties.

Of the eighteen bookmobile demonstration projects, thirteen (13) of them succeeded when county officials approved local tax support for them and they were taken over on full local funding. Since seven of these were multi-county projects, this resulted in seventeen (17) county library districts being formed. In addition, seven (7) branch libraries have been established. Attached is a list of the counties in Indiana which have participated in LSCA-funded bookmobile projects. Counties in your district which have been affected by bookmobile projects are underlined.

The seventeen county library districts formed now serve a total of 316,440 people. This number represents 69.15% of the total increase in the number of people (457,615) receiving library service since 1961.

LSCA funding of bookmobile demonstration projects in Indiana since 1961 has totaled \$2,109,185. This is an average annual expenditure of \$191,744 of LSCA funds for bookmobile projects. Compared to this average annual federal expenditure of funds is \$749,741 of local tax funds appropriated during 1972 for support of the county library districts established with LSCA funds.

LSCA BOOKMOBILE PROJECTS IN INDIANA

County	Timespan of project	Amount of LSCA grant	Population formerly un-served	Did project succeed?	Current population (1972)	Local receipts (1972)	Number of branches established
Franklin	1962 to 1964	\$63,386	12,260	No			
Newton	1962 to 1965	102,823	4,682	Yes	4,591	\$17,220	1
Jasper	1962 to 1964	86,893	10,177	Yes	13,976	33,802	1
Starke	1962 to 1964	86,893	5,674	Yes	13,824	43,221	2
Marshall	1962 to 1965	88,880	7,804	No			
Sullivan	1962 to 1965	88,880	7,863	Yes	12,075	71,815	1
Knox	1962 to 1965	46,607	17,059	Yes	15,639	25,625	
Perry	1962 to 1965	46,607	8,794	Yes	8,862	10,617	
Spencer	1962 to 1965	46,607	10,333	Yes	13,034	12,992	
Delaware	1963 to 1964	77,798	28,712	No			
Jackson	1964 to 1966	41,527	6,696	Yes	13,914	45,706	
Dubois	1964 to 1967	109,690	12,352	Yes	16,080	32,635	1
Pike	1964 to 1967	109,690	9,858	Yes	9,584	20,408	
Porter	1965 to 1967	80,670	27,650	Yes	50,727	180,084	1

County	Timespan of project	Amount of LSCA grant	Population formerly un-served	Did project succeed?	Current population (1972)	Local receipts (1972)	Number of branches established
Johnson	1965 to 1968	\$167,305	18,065	Yes	33,797	\$53,206	
Daviess	1966 to 1969	140,616	8,460	No			
Martin	1966 to 1969	140,616	1,398	No			
Green	1967 to 1971	110,135	10,368	No			
Shelby	1968 to 1970	124,034	22,703	Yes	22,703	33,991	
Miami	1968 to 1972	195,668	25,849	Yes	25,849	53,672	
Morgan	1968 to 1971	70,116	6,191	Yes	6,191	18,054	
Warrick	1968 to 1972	164,035	10,328	Yes	10,328	33,585	
Wayne	1968 to 1972	162,489	12,543	No			
Wabash	1968 to 1972	276,513	45,266	Yes	45,266	63,108	
Tippecanoe	1968 to 1972	276,513	5,532	No			
Montgomery	1968 to 1972	276,513	5,532	No			
Total		2,109,185	355,276		316,440	749,741	7

IV.—ANALYSIS OF BUDGET, DIVISION FOR THE PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED INDIANA STATE LIBRARY

Fiscal year	Total budget	State funds		LSCA funds		Distribution LSCA funds			
		Amount	Percent of budget	Amount	Percent of budget	State library		Subregionals	
						Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
1968	\$49,255	\$20,820	42.3	\$28,435	57.7	\$4,685	16.5	\$23,750	83.5
1969	47,076	22,737	48.3	24,339	51.7	9,345	38.4	14,994	61.6
1970	58,444	24,246	41.4	34,198	58.6	9,785	28.6	24,413	71.4
1971	82,761	24,174	29.2	58,587	70.8	10,553	18.0	48,034	82.0
1972	104,825	27,085	25.8	77,740	74.2	14,300	18.4	63,440	81.6
1973	94,037	23,407	24.9	70,630	75.1	13,870	19.6	56,760	80.4

REMEMBERS MIA'S

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, June 3, the people of Michigan observed "Remember Our Missing in Action Day" by planting a freedom tree on the grounds of the State capitol. The tree was dedicated in honor of our returned prisoners of war and the 51 Michigan servicemen who are still missing in action and unaccounted for.

I rise to commend the people of Michigan, Governor Milliken, and the Prisoner of War Committee of Michigan for their determination and resolve to remember the more than 1,300 American servicemen who are missing in Southeast Asia. Clearly, until there is a full accounting of the whereabouts of these men, there will never be a complete peace. This is especially true for the thousands of relatives and loved ones of these men. For them, the war continues as a very real and personal tragedy.

The doubts, the uncertainties, the unanswered questions are crosses that must be borne by us all.

Mr. Speaker, we always will be grateful to those who served in Vietnam, to those who endured the hardships of captivity and especially to those who gave their lives in service to our Nation. Fortunately, thanks to the efforts of the people of Michigan and other concerned Americans our missing in action will not be forgotten.

I would like to express my respect and admiration to all those who participated in Michigan's freedom tree planting ceremony. I hope that Congress will follow the example of Michigan and other States who have seen fit to remember our

MIA's by setting aside a national day of honor on their behalf.

CRIME IN NEW YORK

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the New York Post, one of the three major newspapers in New York City, has just concluded a series of articles concerning the state of the city. Some of the areas dealt with were housing, welfare, drugs, traffic, parks, and energy. Another particularly important subject covered was crime.

Under the leadership of Patrick V. Murphy, important inroads have been made in reducing crime and police corruption in our city. I applaud Mr. Murphy for doing an extraordinary job in an extraordinarily difficult position. I also wish the new commissioner, Donald F. Cawley, much success in the days ahead.

Further, I commend the New York Post for its continued service to our community, particularly in this, an election year.

The text of the Post article on crime is now submitted for the interest of this body:

THE STATE OF THE CITY—CRIME: BEYOND THE FIGURES

(By Carl J. Pelleck)

(What kind of problems will the next City Hall administration inherit? What progress has New York made in the last 12 months in the major areas of city life—jobs, crime, housing, education and the rest? A task force of Post reporters has compiled the answers and presents its findings, in Q. and A. form.)

ARTICLE III

Q. How serious is New York City's crime problem?

A. The answer gets complicated. First, crime statistics must be measured against the city's situation in previous years. Second, they must be weighed against the figures for other cities. And third, they must be considered along with the more intangible emotional and psychological aspects which make up the quality of life in the city: how much do people fear crime, and how much does that fear affect the way we live?

As for the figures, they indicate some crime decline in the last year, and while our record is not the best in the nation, it's far from the worst. But the streets are still far from totally safe after dark.

Q. How much difference can a good police force make?

A. The city is not overstaffed with police. In fact, the force is 2000 below its authorized strength. But there has been a determined effort by former Commissioner Murphy and his successor, Donald F. Cawley (Murphy's Chief of Patrol), to give the 29,000-man force a new image and new purpose. Two years ago, corruption was rampant. Much has been rooted out, although no one would seriously claim, entirely. But an honest, efficient and high-morale Police Dept. could conceivably go a long way toward riding the city of most crime.

Q. How does New York compare with other big cities on crime?

A. Last year we were ninth among U. S. cities in per capita crime. Our worst rating is in robberies. We were fourth among the 25 most populous cities (based on number of crimes per 100,000 persons), below only Detroit, Baltimore and Washington for the most robberies committed. According to the same figures, derived from answers to FBI questionnaires on the seven major crimes, robberies declined by 30 per cent in Washington, 12 per cent here, last year.

Q. How reliable are crime statistics?

A. They're useful as a barometer, but wariness is recommended. For instance, if in 1973, a police department reports 10,000 fewer robberies than the previous year, does this mean that crime declines or, for whatever reason, the police made fewer arrests? And if the number of convictions similarly declines, does this mean that the courts are soft on criminals, the DAs prosecuted poorly, or that the police arrested innocent people whose cases were dismissed?

Q. Have muggings declined in number?

A. There is no separate category for muggings. There isn't really even a precise definition of a mugging or exact distinction between a holdup in which the victim is grabbed and one in which he's knocked to the ground. In any case, Murphy was of the opinion that muggings belong in the robbery statistics. Despite the imprecision, some experts believe muggings—holdups accompanied by some violence—have declined.

Q. What crime showed the greatest increase in New York?

A. Undoubtedly, rape. The incidence of rape rose by 11 percent nationally, but by 35.4 percent here. Washington had the worst record, New York was eighth among the top 10 cities. It is not entirely clear whether there has been a sudden, alarming jump in rape cases or whether the militancy of Women's Liberation groups has led both to more cases reported by previously reticent women and more accurate police record-keeping.

Q. What are the top police brass doing to cope with crime and do the police feel responsible for the failure?

A. The top police brass is certainly realistic. "We are encouraged by these statistics," Murphy said recently in announcing the 1972 crime figures, "but the fact remains that there is too much crime in New York City. Too many people are suffering loss of life, serious injury and loss of property..."

Q. Why do the police feel they lack public support?

A. Probably because, in many ways, they do. The people in the ghettos are often anti-police because they continue to see narcotics sold openly, gambling ignored and crime more rampant than anywhere else.

Q. But how about the rest of the city?

A. There, too, sympathy and support for the cops have drastically eroded. People remember that the police, supposed to represent law and order, went on strike in 1971 for wage parity. Murphy thinks that strike was the most serious mistake the cops ever made here.

The Knapp Commission's televised revelations of police corruption and the disappearance of millions of dollars worth of heroin from Police Dept. custody have left the cops with little to hold their heads high about. Still, many cops feel that they are unfairly maligned, that many are blamed for the faults of a few. Some, of course, think it's all a plot by cop-haters.

Q. What is being done to improve police efficiency?

A. Police Commissioner Cawley and Murphy before him are both insistent upon cops being dedicated and productive, earning their pay. And Cawley is a spit-and-polish administrator who wants cops' jackets buttoned, hair neat and short, shoes shined. There is great emphasis on internal affairs units throughout the force, working constantly to eliminate corruption. Top officers feel that the cops are getting the message, that corruption is on the decline, that many no longer are willing to ignore wrongdoing by their fellows.

A general overhaul of the organizational structure of the department is under way. A new emphasis on specialization, professionalism and accountability is being sought.

Q. What is being gained by the changes?

A. For example, the Neighborhood Police Team concept has been found more effective than the solo cop who is a "generalist." A cop working in his own neighborhood really begins to care and the people of the neighborhood begin to care about the cop. Recently detectives were assigned directly to teams to improve their operations.

Anti-crime teams were tried and they apparently worked well. Cops with long hair, dressed in mufti, roam the city's streets day and night, in search of crime.

Murphy credits the teams with the better part of the overall 18 per cent drop in major

crimes here last year. The concept is being expanded.

Q. In that case, why aren't policemen satisfied with their accomplishments?

A. They get discouraged by the revolving door nature of their job and complain that the criminal they arrest is frequently back on the street before the cop gets back to his precinct. Too lenient courts, plea bargaining, jails which fail to rehabilitate, all feed the cop's sense of futility.

Q. Why is it that 25 years ago, when there were half as many cops, it seemed there was always one on the street where you could find him?

A. The cop of that era worked a 48-hour week with few days off. Occasionally, for a good arrest, he would get a day off for the extra time he spent in court. Today the cop is highly unionized, with a unique contract offering many advantages not usual in private industry. Cops get liberal vacations, sick leave and days off for time spent in court or for other special duty. They have a 40-hour work week now.

The cop today is much more mobile and doesn't necessarily have to pound his beat to cover his territory. Much of his beat is now in high-rise apartment and office buildings which take him off the street.

Q. So, are the cops doing an adequate job here?

A. That depends on whom you ask. There are people who call for help and get the cops in minutes and then there are those who die an hour after they call for help and nobody shows up.

The system is overtaxed. There is more work than the police can handle and despite City Hall's bragging about the Sprint communication system, it is, too often, barely adequate.

Cops tell how they get to a call location within minutes of receiving instructions from headquarters only to be berated by a citizen because he called for help more than 30 minutes earlier. Obviously the problem is at headquarters, where they had to wait for an available unit.

Some police experts criticize the use of trainees to process public calls because they are slow to grasp true emergencies. Also, too often when there is no car available in one precinct, a car from a neighboring precinct is not called. The system needs much improvement.

Q. How important is public participation in the fight against crime?

A. The police have instituted blockwatcher programs and have been trying to get more people into the auxiliary police. Both programs don't necessarily mean that citizens will have to capture criminals, but they do help by having people on the lookout for something wrong. Putting people on the streets so they aren't always deserted helps, too.

Recently City Hall announced funds would be made available for capital improvements to individual blocks based on matching funds put up by the people on the block. The funds may be used for improved street lighting and for public security systems.

It isn't the solution for ending crime but it does help by making life for the criminals more difficult.

FBI STATISTICS—A DETECTIVE STORY

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, an article in the May 1973 American Bar Association Journal throws an interesting

light on the problem of the courts and crime:

FBI STATISTICS—A DETECTIVE STORY

(By Hans Zeisel¹)

(The FBI for years has blamed a "lenient" judiciary for part of the increase in crime, and it even had its own convenient statistics to prove it. The "Careers in Crime" section of the annual crime reports showed that as many as 92 per cent of persons "acquitted or dismissed" through the federal judicial system were rearrested. But now the statistics have been shown to be a giant yet persistently maintained hoax.)

For many years, until the investigations that led to this article began, a section entitled "Careers in Crime" appeared in the uniform crime reports published annually by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The section always culminated in an intriguing graph, of which the following, from the 1969 uniform crime reports is an example.

(Note.—Not shown in this reprint.)

The numbers on top of each bar grew slightly from year to year because, as more time elapsed since the year of release, more of these people would be arrested. But the over-all shape of the graph remained remarkably stable. One bar stuck out especially in this remarkable piece of FBI statistics, like a sore thumb, reminding everybody that measured by the number of crimes committed since their release, the "acquitted or dismissed" persons were the worst group of criminals allowed to go free. This prize statistic now turns out to have been a hoax.

It all began with the thoroughly laudable idea that it would be interesting to learn more about the aftermath of federal law enforcement, so as to gain a better insight into its long-range effectiveness. Accordingly, the FBI decided to follow up the criminal aftermath of all persons released to the community in a certain year. The year was 1963.

The federal system releases persons to the community either from its prisons or its courts. A prisoner is released mandatorily after having served his sentence or through parole before his time is up. A defendant in the courts is released unless convicted and sentenced to prison. He will be released in spite of being found guilty if he is but sentenced to a fine or if he is given probation or a suspended sentence. Finally, the courts release defendants whose cases are dismissed or who are acquitted after trial. The follow-up study of the FBI counted the proportion of persons who in the interval between the release year and the reporting year had been rearrested for a new crime.

FBI HAS DOUBLE ROLE

The terminology in this study reflected the peculiar double role of the F.B.I. as custodian of crime statistics and as principal law enforcement agency. The report called all persons released from the system "offenders" even if their cases had been dismissed by the court or if they had been acquitted, and it called everybody rearrested a "repeater," although he may not have been convicted of a crime even once.

But since the arrest yardstick, whatever its obvious shortcomings, was applied to all released persons without distinction, arguably it could serve as a crude index for comparing the actual criminality of those coming from the various release channels. Thus the interesting point of this release statistic, and the one always prominently mentioned in the accompanying F.B.I. text, was the peak rearrest rate among those the courts let go free. This result served to buttress the perennial F.B.I. complaint over the softness of the courts. As far back as 1966, the uniform crime report summarily labelled as "Leniency" (page 32) all dispositions involving probation, suspended sentence, parole, or conditional

¹ Hans Zeisel is a professor of law and sociology at the University of Chicago and the author of a statistics textbook.

release. And in what must have been J. Edgar Hoover's last congressional testimony in April of 1972, he returned to the theme: "I think the leniency some courts have shown is responsible for some of our difficulties." And there it was, the 92 per cent rearrest rate of those the system let go free, powerfully supporting the F.B.I.'s contention. But the figure was not exactly easy to explain, and altogether perhaps a bit too powerful.

The first man to suspect it was an Australian scholar, Paul Ward, senior lecturer in criminal statistics at the University of Sydney. He was struck by the fact that the slight annual additions to the group under study were overwhelmingly persons who had been rearrested in the meantime. In a paper he called "Careers in Crime: The F.B.I. Story," published in 1970 in the *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, Professor Ward ventured the suspicion that the F.B.I. hiked the rearrest rates in the control group by adding only people who had been rearrested and disregarding those who had not been rearrested. When the F.B.I. denied this, Mr. Ward admitted error but added that doubts continued to exist in his mind. I came across the data and the controversy in the course of my work for the President's Commission on Federal Statistics, which had asked me to study the statistical problems of crime and law enforcement. At that time I could only pay passing attention to this piece of F.B.I. statistics and remarked in my section of the commission's report, "The Future of Law Enforcement Statistics," "An interesting result if true. . . . But since it is a highly self-serving statistic from the F.B.I.'s point of view, on a controversial point, its presentation and analysis merit somewhat more care."

ANOTHER MINOR INCONSISTENCY

Later on, I found time to look more closely, and it was first another minor inconsistency in the year-to-year growth that caught my eye. There was also a second, if less tangible, ground for my search. I have long learned to be wary of near-perfect scores in the realm of human conduct, where the unending multiplicity of causes tends toward imperfection. Any 92 per cent figure, so close to the 100 per cent perfection level, merits suspicion.

TABLE 1

Release channel	FBI data base	Count by the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts	FBI base as percent of actual count
From the courts:			
Fine only.....	1,790	2,797	64
Probation, including fine and probation..	8,393	12,082	70
Dismissed and acquitted.....	1,190	4,974	24
From the prisons:			
Mandatory release.....	3,145	3,441	91
Parole.....	4,049	5,289	77
Total released..	18,567	28,583	65

Note: The FBI data base is from the uniform crime reports for 1969, the year the base reached its maximum. The count by the Administrative Office is the mean of figures for fiscal years 1963 and 1964.

It occurred to me that another branch of the federal government, the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, should have an accurate count of the released persons who formed the basis of the F.B.I. statistics. And so it had, and when the number of persons released in 1963 from the federal system was compared with the F.B.I. data base, a curious picture, shown in Table 1, emerged.

For the first time, it became apparent that the F.B.I. base did not include all persons released in 1963. The F.B.I. had collected data for only a fraction of all persons released by each channel. For those mandatorily released from prison after having

served their sentence, the fraction was large—91 per cent. But for the crucial group whose cases had ended in dismissal or acquittal, the fraction was very small: the F.B.I. had lost 76 per cent of all cases in this group.

Yet in all these years of publishing the uniform crime reports, the F.B.I. never as much as hinted at the existence of a potential sampling problem that could distort the results of these statistics.

FBI DOCUMENTS FAULTY DATA BASE

When confronted with the discrepancy, the F.B.I. at first was not responsive, but later it not only admitted but also documented that its data base indeed was faulty. The documentation came in a table that revealed the F.B.I. base as a severely biased sample. It contained too many persons in the crime groups for which rearrest rates were high, and too few of those for which the rearrest rates were low. For instance, of the three crimes with the high rearrest rate of 81 per cent, the F.B.I. group had almost three times the proportion of cases it ought to have had; and of the three crimes with the low rearrest rate of 47 per cent, it had only one fourteenth of the amount it should have had, as shown by Table 2.

TABLE 2

[In percent]

Originally charged with	Average arrest rate for persons dismissed or acquitted on these charges	Share of these crimes	
		Among all acquitted and dismissed	In the FBI group
Auto theft, burglary, assault.....	81	10.6	27.6
Fraud, liquor law violations, embezzlement.....	47	27.6	1.0

Correcting for this error alone would have brought down the rearrest rate for those "dismissed or acquitted" from 92 per cent to 78 per cent. But it is by no means certain that this was the only error the F.B.I. committed. As a matter of fact, it is most unlikely that this accidentally documented anomaly was the only error. Once it is established that the cases used by the F.B.I. were but a small fraction of the total "dismissed or acquitted" group, and once it is established that this fraction is anything but a probability sample of the total group, the credibility of all statistics based on this fraction is destroyed.

This discovery raised the other urgent and last question. What was the cause of this elementary sampling error committed by the F.B.I.? The search led to a cause so gross and so simple that there could be no possible excuse for committing the error in the first place, and even less for not correcting it throughout these many years of misuse. It turned out that the F.B.I.'s data were not based on all persons "dismissed or acquitted" or on a representative sample of these persons. Rather the F.B.I. had concentrated primarily on its own cases, that is, on the cases its agents had brought into the system and about which they wanted to learn whether they had "won" them or "lost." The cases that came into the system through other agencies—the Bureau of Narcotics, the Secret Service, the Treasury, the Postal Inspector, the Customs Office, and the United States attorneys' offices—received less or no attention. Not to disclose this fact and deal with its consequences, probably not even to be aware of it, is unpardonable.

On August 29, 1972, the F.B.I. released the uniform crime reports for 1971. As usual it contained the "Careers in Crime" section, albeit on a changed but again doubtful data basis. All the traditional statistics are there, all, that is, but one: the graph and table comparing rearrest rates by channel of release are missing.

Yet the story of the F.B.I.'s wagging finger

is but a paradigm. With all, that 92 per cent figure has probably done little harm in the real world. Yet, the persistent failure of the F.B.I. to investigate its statistical prize, in spite of many warnings, rounds out the picture. F.B.I. statistics emerge by no means as villain, merely as an operation with low professional standards, lacking sensitivity or even curiosity, especially when it comes to figures that please. In the last analysis, it is the unnatural administrative combination of police work and statistics that is to blame.

The accurate measure of crime is becoming an ever more important indicator of the country's social health or sickness. It is high time that this difficult and important task be removed from the hands of an organization with vested interests in the results of the statistics it gathers and be entrusted to a group of specialists whose career interests are in objectivity and accuracy. The creation of a Bureau of Criminal Statistics within the Department of Justice would help to accomplish this. The removal of this responsibility from the F.B.I. should in no way hamper its law enforcement activities. On the contrary, all its energies could then be devoted to what has always been its primary and would then become its sole task.

THE DANGER OF A NEW MCCARTHY ERA

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. RHODES, Mr. Speaker, what is most important with regard to any issue is to achieve and maintain realistic perspective. This is especially true in light of Watergate. With an issue as complex as this, it is easy to be overwhelmed by the charges and countercharges. We need to scrupulously follow the procedure which will lead to full disclosure of the facts, so that we can move on to many of the important issues facing our country. Above all, we must be able to view Watergate as it truly is: a series of illegal acts by a number of individuals which will be remedied by law.

One way to maintain useful perspective is through a consideration of international comment. I recently came across an editorial in the London Daily Mail on May 11, 1973, which provides, I believe, an indication of what some of our neighbors across the sea think of Watergate. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully request that this editorial be placed in the RECORD.

THE DANGER OF A NEW MCCARTHY ERA

When the Americans start mudslinging, they really let fly. They have given their own grim name to the wholehearted enthusiasm with which they pursue a cause, whatever damage it does. They call it 'overkill.'

The U.S. newspapers have scored a great triumph in exposing the Watergate scandal. But they don't know when to stop. Now they are printing everything—rumours and innuendoes, secret evidence, unproven allegations, old scandals reheated, wild irrelevancies . . . anything that could damage their President.

They have old scores to settle with Mr. Nixon. There is something almost gloating about the way they are now taking their chances, regarding of the consequences for their country.

The American public and their Senators and Congressmen are much less enthusiastic. They find sinister echoes of the McCarthy witch-hunts in this orgy of allegation.

As always, a witch-hunt demands a non-stop supply of witches. And if there aren't enough, they have to be invented. The innocent are dragged to the stake along with the guilty.

The newspapers themselves are not exactly beyond reproach. The New York Times didn't mind Mr. Ellsberg stealing the Pentagon Papers, but is outraged by the alleged theft of the Ellsberg Papers.

Very few Americans want the office of the Presidency to be damaged. Even thoughtful Democrats do not want Mr. Nixon to be rendered powerless for the rest of his term, let alone impeached.

For this would strike at the stability of the whole system of American government and its enormous impact on world affairs.

Certainly, American political life needs to be thoroughly cleaned up.

But the Presidency of the United States is too important to be destroyed by a personal witch-hunt.

PHILLIP'S LAST STAND AGAINST LEGAL SERVICES

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, although thwarted in his attempts to completely dismantle the legal services program, Office of Economic Opportunity Acting Director Howard Phillips is still doing his best to see that the existing program is well crippled before its hopeful transition into an independent Legal Services Corporation at the end of next month. On May 25 and again on May 30 Mr. Phillips proposed major new regulations to become effective on June 25 and June 29, respectively. Mr. Phillips' tenure as Acting Director ends on June 30.

The first of these proposals, printed in Volume 38, No. 101 of the Federal Register at page 13745, would do away with the established goals of the program which were officially promulgated in 1968 and have been in effect since that time. These current program objectives are service to individual clients, law reform, group representation, community education, and economic development. Mr. Phillips would make a last-minute recision of these goals of comprehensive legal services for the poor. His new policy as set forth in the proposed regulations sounds commendable and is in fact the primary goal of the current legal services program: Service to individual clients. However, by doing away with the related and necessary goals of law reform, group representation, community education and economic development, the new regulations would take away from the program the invaluable resources provided by the backup centers and law reform units and the tools of class action and test litigation. By seeming coincidence, the law reform and group representation aspects of the current program are those that helped give it its effectiveness and most often brought it into conflict with local politicians and other vested interests.

Mr. Phillips' second regulation, found on pages 14170-14172 of volume 38, No. 103 of the Federal Register, would fur-

ther restrict group representation activities, hamper staff attorneys by requiring the maintenance of an overly detailed log of morning, afternoon, and evening activities, and make it impossible for local programs to attract top graduating law students or experienced attorneys from other States by requiring that all staff attorneys be admitted to practice in the State in which they are employed. Although it is certainly the goal and practice of most of the current programs to have their staff attorneys become members of the State bar, exceptions must be made for persons in special programs and those who are involved in the sometimes lengthy procedure of admittance to a State bar. The administration's legal services bill as originally introduced contained a similar provision, but opposition from members of both parties led to its deletion in committee.

It would seem that instead of allowing the Congress to give careful consideration to the establishment of a viable independent Legal Services Corporation, Mr. Phillips is trying to restructure the program by fiat, hoping that his last-minute changes will bind the future corporation. Although the legislation creating the new corporation will repeal the old OEO legislation and empower the corporation to set its own rules and regulations, there is a danger that Mr. Phillips' latest actions will cast a shadow on future policies.

FOOD A BARGAIN

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, today, I would like to insert into the RECORD another editorial opinion from our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District on food prices.

In his editorial, Dave Gallagher, editorial writer for the Montevideo American News aptly says:

Food is still a bargain in our country. In many ways, in light of the facts, it is difficult to understand why people have become so enraged with food prices only, for there are many other areas where prices have gone up proportionally higher than food.

I most sincerely commend the reading of this editorial to my colleagues:

FOOD A BARGAIN

Whether you have thrown yourself heart and soul into the meat boycott or not, food is still a bargain in our country. In many ways, in light of the facts, it is difficult to understand why people have become so enraged with food prices only. For there are many other areas where prices have gone up proportionally higher than food.

An hour's work in 1971 bought almost twice the amount of goods, speaking now of food only, as it did in 1939 and a significantly high percentage of food than one could have purchased with an hour's wages in 1959.

While the amount of goods we can purchase has gone up, the amount of money Americans spend on food had steadily decreased. In 1930, Americans spent roughly 24 per cent of their income. In 1972, they spent only 16 per cent.

The American farmer's record of efficiency is also a marvel. In 1950, one farmer produced enough food to feed 20 people. In 1960, his efficiency had increased to the point that one farmer fed 27 people. In 1972, one farmer produced enough food to feed a miraculous 52 folks.

While all of this has taken place, the price the farmer has received for his product has diminished. In 1950, a farmer could sell a bushel of wheat for roughly \$2. In 1971, he received \$1.31 for that same bushel of wheat.

Corn sold for \$1.52 a bushel in 1950 and in 1971 the farmer received only \$1.08. Hogs have dropped 50 cents per hundredweight between 1950-1971 and yet no one would pretend to suppose his costs have decreased proportionately. Only the price of beef has risen, from \$29.35 per cwt. in 1950 to \$33.12 per cwt. in 1971.

The facts, then, appear to speak for themselves. An hour's labor buys more food than it ever has before and yet Americans are spending less and less on food. That, in spite of the fact that we are the best fed peoples in the world.

The meat boycott had a purpose. More meatless days have been proposed. But in many areas, the price of beef has not dropped significantly. Perhaps should other boycotts be attempted, and should those boycotts bring more participants, a drop in prices could occur.

But why don't Americans protest other price increases as vigorously? The price of almost everything we buy has risen drastically over the past few years. Some items have doubled, even tripled in price and yet we do not protest such increases.

To protest the price of beef and to suppose that the American farmer is reaping huge profits is to grossly misconstrue the facts. The American farmer, the large feedlot owner is not getting any fatter selling beef than the grain farmers got when the United States swung a big grain deal with Russia.

It was not the farmer who reaped huge profits from those transactions, because most of them had already sold their grain at substantially lower prices. Big business reaped the profits, as it is now; that is what we should be protesting.

And not just with regard to food, but with regard to every aspect of our economic lives; whether it be when purchasing a pound of hamburger at the supermarket or closing tax loopholes for the super-rich. Unless we get ourselves out of the economic doldrums and plant our feet firmly on the ground, such boycotts and protests will become a way of life with us.

It should not be so.—Dave Gallagher.

THANKS TO THE COMMITTEE FOR ITS FINE JOB

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to recognize the innovative pilot study recently completed by the Joint Committee on Congressional Operations. The daily summary of House proceedings and debate has been most useful to my staff as a supplementary tool in reviewing the day's floor activities. I know many Members join me in extending thanks to the committee for its fine job and I, for one, hope that the final evaluation will deem the project feasible for future use.

THE WELFARE MESS

HON. HAROLD V. FROELICH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. FROELICH. Mr. Speaker, Congress must act positively to revise and tighten our present welfare laws. There is no doubt that there are many needy and deserving individuals and families now receiving aid, but, at the same time, there is an overabundance of abuse and misuse of welfare funds.

I call to the attention of my colleagues the following article which appeared in the Appleton Post-Crescent. This article provides another example of the injustices which will continue to occur unless Congress takes corrective action and takes it soon.

The article follows:

MENASHA MAN ORDERED TO MAKE BACK PAYMENTS

A 30-year-old unemployed Menasha man was ordered last week to start making \$30 per week child support payments or face a jail term, despite the man's contention that his ex-wife and her new husband started receiving Aid to Dependent Children benefits shortly after they moved into a \$36,000 house on Appleton's east side.

Clifford G. Engel, 919 Meadowview Drive, appeared before Judge Urban P. Van Susteren in Outagamie County Court Branch 1, where the defendant was accused of being \$550 in arrears.

Engel, who admitted being in arrears because he receives only \$90 per week for unemployment compensation and is going to school while supporting a wife and two children, was directed to make the payments for the support of two daughters, ages 5 and 7, from a previous marriage to Barbara H. Beyer, 28, 1024 N. Bay Ridge Road.

Non-payment of the support money, which goes to the county welfare department to help offset the ADC payments to Mrs. Beyer, would result in Engel's being jailed for contempt of court.

Mrs. Beyer told Van Susteren that she and her husband Douglas receive \$233 per month in ADC benefits under the Step Parent Assistance program, since Meyer has not adopted the two children. She applied for those benefits 13 days after the couple purchased the \$36,000 home in the Colony Oaks section on March 23. They previously had lived in an \$18,000 home on the city's south side.

Mrs. Beyer told the judge that the mortgage payments on the new house amount to \$230 per month, leading Van Susteren to comment that the government is, in effect paying for the couple's new home.

The Beyers' county social worker refused to discuss their application for assistance, stressing the confidentiality of the matter. But she did indicate that from the information she received, the couple's application was in order and their receipt of the \$233 per month from ADC perfectly legal.

Because Beyer is not the legal father of the two girls, the application for ADC could not take into account his \$9,000 per year earnings, but only his wife's income. She is unemployed.

Family Court Commissioner James R. Long said the Beyers' financial position should in no way affect the case against Engel, since the hearing was an order to show cause against Engel for non-payment of the support money.

Long maintained that Engel, who earned nearly \$14,000 per year as a drug store manager, could get a job if he wanted. Engel told

the court he is studying for a real estate broker's license.

Mrs. Beyer was granted a divorce from Engel by Van Susteren on July 5, 1971, on grounds of cruel and inhuman treatment. At that time, Engel was ordered to pay \$100 per month in support payments. Those payments were later increased to \$160 and subsequently cut to \$130.

MILESTONE, 1,000

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I rise today to bring to the attention of my colleagues a truly wonderful accomplishment by the Queens-Village-Hollis-Bellerose Volunteer Ambulance Corps. Last month, the corps answered its 1,000th call. The volunteer corps has become a major unit in part of my congressional district. Its ability to save lives and assist injured citizens has been proven over and over, and in marking this occasion we express our thanks to the dedicated citizens who have made the corps what it is. In the near future, we will all again join in honoring the corps when it dedicates its new, permanent headquarters. At this point, I insert in the RECORD an article on the thousandth call which appeared recently in the Queens County Times.

The article follows:

MILESTONE, 1,000

They say the first 1-thousand are always the hardest. Not so, in the case of the QV-H-B Corps.

It was Sunday, May 6th, and 6 pm when the 6-12 midnight crew came on to relieve the 2-6 crew. They were informed that the next call would be No. 999. At 6:50 pm that call came via the emergency 464-2424, a young woman had suffered an internal neck injury.

Having completed that run by 7:10 pm, the stage was set for call One Thousand.

But when and what crew would get the honor of handling that milestone? Seventy-three. Eight, eight-thirty, and then nine o'clock had passed. Attendant Peter Kane was asked if the crew was getting restless. Who, us, he replied. We were too busy eating sandwiches and watching television. Then, at 9:31 the phone rang . . . the crew looked at one another as if to say "Is this it?" As dispatcher Mary Rasulis copied down the information, it was obvious, this was it.

Driver John Davis started up the ambulance while attendants Pete Kane, Al Rasulis waited for the fourth member, Nancy Romanowski to climb aboard with the address and patient need, they rolled off on the 1000th call since inauguration of service last August 25th.

Within minutes the crew was at the scene in Hollis where a 2-year-old, Christopher Dreher, who had fallen and received laceration of the face was bundled off to Long Island Jewish-Hillside Medical Center emergency room for attention.

Other Corps members had heard the siren off in the distance and by ten-thirty, the headquarter's phone was ringing with congratulations with vice-presidents John Mitchell and Ed Tureck among the first to call.

Two patrolmen from the 105th Police Precinct stopped in and hung a congratulatory card on the bulletin board. Pictures were

being taken when President Herb Lippold came in to offer a "well done" to crew members. PS—The crew never got to see the end of the movie they were watching.

Congratulations to all who have played a part in these 1000 volunteer efforts to aid a fellow human in a time of distress.

TIME TO STAY HOME

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, news dispatches from abroad tell of hotel proprietors, restaurant owners, tour operators, and merchants generally writing up their price tickets at a merry rate for the expected hordes of American tourists this coming summer.

CBS recently aired a report from Rome to the effect that hotel and tour rates there have been boosted 6 percent and more over what prevailed a year ago. Other Italian prices are up by the same proportions.

Scripps Howard, in a story from Paris, warned Americans the other day to skip the principal cities of Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Switzerland, and Japan. It said a new United Nations cost-of-living schedule shows these places at the top of the price scale—bad news indeed for the tourist seeking to stretch his funds.

In some countries, we are informed, price hiking is not the result alone of the devaluations of the U.S. dollar. New value added taxes have been slapped on for the vacationers, too, thus adding to the game of gouging. And what can be done about it?

The answer, of course, is easy enough. Americans can stay at home and spend their vacation money in seeing the sights and participating in the recreation facilities of their own country. By doing so they can avoid worsening the balance-of-payments deficit and instead use their dollars to accelerate the domestic economy.

It need not be said again that this country has much more to see and to enjoy than vacation lands overseas. Every section of America has special attractions. I think of my State of Pennsylvania with Philadelphia and the halls there in which our Nation was born, the Poconos, the Laurel Mountains, the Lake Erie resorts and all the other interesting places which are too many in number to list here.

Why then, in view of all we have in this country, should Americans by the scores of thousands go trooping off to faraway points this summer to be taken by the price boosters—those abroad who so delight in grabbing every dollar they can from the trusting tourist? It behooves our people to do their sightseeing and their vacation playing here. All kinds of American tours are available at every travel agent's office. It is to the American's advantage, both as a vacationer and as a concerned citizen, to take them.

THE BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS "MAJORITY": IS IT ENOUGH?

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Center for Political Studies, sponsored by Howard University and the Metropolitan Applied Research Center, is a private, nonprofit organization that provides research, education, technical assistance, and information for the Nation's minority elected officials on a nonpartisan basis. Under the leadership of Mr. Eddie N. Williams, they have done outstanding work in raising the level of dialog and understanding for minority leaders in government.

An article particularly relevant to the needs of minority elected officials appears in the May issue of the center's magazine. The article responds to the recently stated hypothesis that a majority of blacks in the United States now qualify to be called middle class. I now submit the article, entitled "The Black Middle-Class 'Majority': Is It Enough?" and applaud the outstanding work of the center:

THE BLACK MIDDLE-CLASS "MAJORITY": IS IT ENOUGH?

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Are most blacks in the United States now members of the "middle class?" An article by Ben J. Wattenberg and Richard M. Scammon, suggesting that a majority of blacks in the United States now qualify to be called middle class, has caused considerable controversy since it appeared in the April issue of Commentary magazine, under the title, "Black Progress and Liberal Rhetoric.")

Scammon was director of the U.S. Census Bureau from 1961 to 1965 and is now director of the Elections Research Center in Washington. Wattenberg was an aide to President Johnson, and has also been on the staffs of Sens. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Henry Jackson (D-Wash.).

They do not deny that many blacks have been "left behind" in poverty. But they contend that liberals and black leaders have too often ignored the progress of the majority of blacks into "good" jobs and incomes in the "middle" range, which they define as above \$8,000 in the North, and above \$6,000 in the less affluent South (they do not specify a ceiling on their "middle" range). They argue that liberals should "latch on to the affirmative," as the song goes, and take some credit for giving a hand to black progress through Great Society legislation of the Sixties.

The point of debate revolves around whether or not blacks have really progressed far enough to warrant their conclusion. In the following article, JCPS Director of Research Herrington J. Bryce questions the logic and the integrity of data offered as fact by Scammon and Wattenberg in their article.

Scammon and Wattenberg claim to have discovered a "remarkable development" which they say has "taken place in America over the last dozen years." During that time, they contend, those American blacks who have moved into the middle class have come to "add up to a majority of black Americans—a slender majority (they later set it at 52 per cent), but a majority nevertheless."

They then examine a number of ways in which status is measured: income; level of unemployment; numbers of workers at each job level; level of education; and numbers on public welfare rolls. By each index, they

say, the majority of blacks have attained that degree of comfort, security, and self-improvement that confers upon them the status of middle class.

The first thing to be said about this idea, of course, is that if you define "middle class" as broadly as they do, just about anybody can get in. About the only ones who can't be defined as "middle class" under their scheme are the professionals ("doctors, lawyers, and businessmen with cabin cruisers," in their own words) and the unemployed.

But even if one accepts their broad definition, he still has to examine closely the figures they use. As they themselves state, "The first and most basic index of status in American life is money."

Scammon and Wattenberg do a good deal of fine slicing to find a group of blacks they can call completely equal to whites. First, they eliminate all families in which only one parent is present; then, they slice off families where the husband is over 35 years old finally, they chop off the South. When they're finished they trumpet the news: "The median income of black husband-wife families, in the North and West, with the head of the family under 35 years of age, rose from 78 per cent of white income in 1959 to 96 per cent in 1970. And they add, black families in this category, where both parents work, actually earn a little more, on the average, than white families in identical circumstances."

But by the time Scammon and Wattenberg have defined this black group which has achieved "parity" with their white counterparts, they are left with only 16 per cent of the black husband-wife families in the nation. And the young black husbands who, according to Scammon and Wattenberg, have incomes nearly equal to white men the same age are a mere seven per cent of the black male population.

In reality, few blacks reach income parity with whites, and those that do generally must run faster and harder to get there—usually thanks to a wife who works at a full-time job all year, as opposed to white wives who often work only part-time, or not at all.

For truly disturbing facts on black income, however, consider this: Between 1947 and 1971, the gap between incomes of black families, as a whole, and white families grew from \$2,500 to about \$4,000.

Moreover, the median income of black families, reported by the Census Bureau in 1971, is \$7,548. For Spanish American families, it is \$6,440. For white families, it is \$10,672.

There's more: Nearly 40 per cent of black families earn less than \$5,000 a year. Only 30 per cent of Spanish American families are below that figure, and only 16 per cent of white families are so impoverished.

Statistically, there was a gain in black income levels (though the black-white gap remains large). But how was it achieved? Much of it was merely a gain on paper, caused in large part by migration. Many blacks, especially the younger ones, moved out of the South and got jobs in the North, where wages are higher—along with living costs. Only 3.9 million blacks remain in the rural South, making it unlikely there will be many more rising to higher income levels through migration in future years.

Another major reason for gain in income was the economy boom of the Sixties, when urban blacks took advantage of the heavy demand for labor. But black unemployment has been at near depression levels since then; today, we are right back where we started, with two blacks unemployed for every white. Scammon and Wattenberg pay attention only to jobs held by black living with wives. Although it is true that in this very restricted category, black unemployment is closer to white unemployment than it was before, the category leaves out many people, surely employment of teenagers and single women is extremely important in lifting blacks out of poverty and among those groups, blacks are far behind whites.

Scammon and Wattenberg point out that

many blacks have entered "white-collar" jobs—for example, those in offices. This is true. But the jump (a percentage increase of 76 per cent between 1960 and 1970) is not hard to understand if one remembers simple arithmetic: If you start with one apple and add another, you've made a 100 per cent increase. The increase is "big" because the starting point was small. Moreover, most of the new jobs for blacks in this area were clerical jobs—not the kinds of jobs whites are likely to be eager to obtain.

The fact stands that there are still few blacks in all high-wage occupations, compared to the number of blacks in the total population. At present, blacks have 70 per cent fewer managerial jobs and 30 per cent fewer craft jobs than they would have if they were fairly represented in these occupations, according to calculations based on the 1973 Manpower Report of the President.

Scammon and Wattenberg cite meaningless figures to note that blacks are somewhat more likely than white to be union members. Blacks have been union members for a very long time, especially in segregated, industrial locals. This does not necessarily mean that jobs held by blacks are getting "better," as they imply; it simply means that the jobs in which blacks are concentrated are much more likely to be subject to unionization. During the 1960s, blacks struggled with limited success to enter craft unions that exact high wages for their members. Today, blacks constitute only five per cent of the journeymen in the craft unions. It's progress—but is it enough?

Finally, Scammon and Wattenberg note that more blacks than before receive welfare, generally from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. They note a "concomitant" rise in the number of black families without fathers present. They manage to extract a nugget of consolation from what they admit is an otherwise "deplorable" situation. At least, they say, it is better that "poor blacks are now getting welfare, whereas at an earlier time they were getting nothing at all."

All things are relative, of course. But it should be noted that the increase in black families on welfare is due not only to the increase in female-headed households, but also to the boost in black unemployment (especially as the economy slowed in 1969-70) to the withdrawal of discouraged black males from the labor force after they were unable to find jobs over long periods, to the court-ordered end of unconstitutional and inhumane restrictions on who was eligible for welfare; and to the vigorous efforts of public interest groups to get eligible blacks and other poor families on the rolls.

These have been some of the misinterpretations Scammon and Wattenberg made in dealing with the data they present. There are also several indicators of relative status that they failed to mention at all. For example:

Today, as in 1960, 30 per cent of all homes with inadequate plumbing are occupied by blacks.

Today, as in 1960, blacks who are now between 25 and 55 years old can expect to live shorter lives than whites the same ages. In fact, the gap has widened slightly.

The suicide rate among young black men and women has gone up sharply—surely a telling blow to Scammon and Wattenberg's claim of increasing black satisfaction.

These and many other figures point to areas in which blacks are still far from parity with whites, even though gains may have been made in recent years.

It is similar in other fields, such as participation in the political process. The Joint Center for Political Studies makes an annual headcount of black elected officials, and between 1969 and 1973, the number rose from 1,231 to almost 2,600. Yet, this number still represents less than one-half of one per cent of all elected officials in the nation. It is encouraging to see how far blacks have come; it is sobering to see how far they must go.

How can further progress be achieved? Scammon and Wattenberg acknowledged that the Great Society programs of the Sixties "accomplished a great deal," and that "their curtailment," as proposed in President Nixon's budget, "would probably be sufficient to prevent . . . steady progress, . . . yet probably not sufficient to insure . . . total stasis. . . ."

They charge that white liberals and black civil rights leaders have "elected to mute any public acknowledgment or celebration of black accomplishments in order to maintain moral and political pressure on the administration and on public opinion." Instead, they urge, these leaders should be advertising the progress that the Great Society programs helped bring.

They should realize that the "death knell" of the programs of the Sixties will not logically come because black leaders are "mute"—if, indeed, they are mute. It seems more likely to come from the empowerment of a conservative force which fundamentally opposes the programs, and from many "cost-benefit" and other supposedly "hard-nosed" evaluation studies. These concentrate so single-mindedly on questions that can be answered with numbers that they miss many of the most important benefits of these programs. It is these narrow studies which provide the ammunition, under the guise of "science" being used to shoot down social programs.

In any case, the job of defending all Great Society programs does not belong exclusively to blacks. While blacks were the main beneficiaries of some programs, especially, in the areas of voting rights and public accommodations, they were neither the primary nor the sole beneficiaries of many others. Clearly, they did not get the best and highest paying jobs in any of the program administrations.

In a dynamic society where most things are "progressing," it borders on banality to cheer progress. What is important is the work left to be done. Perhaps Scammon and Wattenberg would agree.

FROM CRISIS TO REFORM

HON. MARGARET M. HECKLER

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I am entering into the RECORD the following editorial entitled "From Crisis to Reform," which was recently broadcast by WBZ-TV and radio in Boston.

I wholeheartedly concur with this statement. It is most obvious that steps must be taken now to initiate electoral reforms.

The editorial follows:

FROM CRISIS TO REFORM

(Delivered by Winthrop P. Baker, general manager, WBZ-TV, Sy Yanoff, general manager, radio)

Our system of government seems to require a crisis to spur real public interest in reform. So in the long run the Watergate mess may turn out to be far more of a benefit to the system than it appears in this mudbath period. Certainly Watergate has given a much needed boost to proposed changes in our basic election process. We started talking about that issue right after the windup of the 1972 campaign last Fall. It was hard stirring reaction then, but not anymore. Now almost everyone wants to get in the act.

We see two separate phases to the reform

drive. One is immediate action to strengthen campaign financing laws. That doesn't require long, agonizing study by that special Commission the President has proposed. It requires prompt deliberation and action on existing proposals. A lot of our present laws on campaign spending and disclosure are good. Obviously they can be tightened and revised some more. But the prime need now is a solid, effective mechanism for control and enforcement. To us that means a permanent, independent election commission, with power to go after violators and bring them to justice. Plans of this sort have been proposed by John Gardner of Common Cause and members of Congress. Let's get that type of law on the books promptly before the reform spirit dies down.

But there is also need for a special study commission such as the President proposed for the second part of the job—looking at more complex questions on election procedures and government structure. There must be a better way to nominate presidential candidates. The electoral college procedure obviously needs overhauling. The single, six-year term for President deserves a lot more attention than it's had to date. The four-year term for Congress is long overdue. So are other Congressional reforms to reverse the long decline of the Legislative branch. We'll do what we can to keep the public discussion on these issues going. And we'll welcome your ideas for our own information or use right on the air.

SMALL BUSINESS TAX RELIEF BILL

HON. E. de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, the existing tax system places a severe burden on small business enterprises. Big business pays a lower rate of taxes than small business. Small and medium-sized businesses pay at a rate of about 50 or 51 percent of their income while the largest firms pay at about 35 percent, according to U.S. Government figures.

This is not a healthy situation. Small business concerns are the heart of our free enterprise system. If this inequitable tax system continues unchanged for any length of time, I am afraid that thousands of long-existing firms will be forced to go out of business and thousands of potential new enterprises will never be born.

These considerations have led me to introduce a bill—H.R. 8002—to provide income tax simplification, reform, and relief for small business.

In brief, my bill provides for:

Permanent Government and small business advisory machinery for simplifying tax laws and tax forms;

Lower tax rates for smaller business, and particularly for new business;

Promoting the growth of new and small firms by liberalizing first-year depreciation and increasing permissible accumulation of earnings;

Easing the raising of capital by providing more equitable treatment for possible losses through loans or stock purchases, and allowing tax benefits for the floating of securities issues;

Encouraging the continued independence of family-owned firms by making it

easier to pay estate taxes based on business interests over a 10-year period.

I make no claim that my proposal will cure all the problems of small businesses. But it would make a strong start toward easing the disproportionate burden placed on these concerns by the present tax system. It provides a basic framework for building toward tax reform that would affect nearly 12 million small business owners, their families, and their employees.

We need to make that start and provide that framework now.

VIBA: A PROMISING DEVELOPMENT

HON. RON DE LUGO

OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. DE LUGO. Mr. Speaker, when reflecting upon the prospects for community harmony we are often moved to pessimism. Senseless acts of violence, racial tensions, class conflicts and governmental incompetence, among other tragedies, have conditioned too many of our citizens into expecting the worst. We have become too familiar with the sensational negative aspects of modern life. There is a tendency to overlook the more promising developments.

Less than 1 year ago, a group of residents of the island of St. Croix decided to band together and constructively deal with some of the disturbing effects of life on the island. They grouped together under the banner of VIBA, the Virgin Islands Businessmen's Association. Their stated purpose was to assure that all Virgin Islanders share in and benefit from the development of their community.

In the year of its infancy VIBA has shown great maturity and made significant progress. Its auspicious efforts to help Virgin Islanders understand one another has earned VIBA widespread and warranted respect.

On July 3, VIBA will celebrate its first anniversary. The date chosen is a notable one in Virgin Islands history, reflecting the particular character of this organization. July 3, 1973, will be the 125th anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves in what was then the Danish West Indies, now the U.S. Virgin Islands.

That proclamation was in important step toward recognition of universal equality in our territory. Its spirit, and that of the later guarantees of liberty in the U.S. Constitution, was at the fundamental core of Virgin Islands life for many years. Rapid, uncontrolled growth over the past 2 decades, however, has stirred a few citizens to stray away from our precious heritage of tolerance and love. It has also pointed up certain inequities in our community.

VIBA has worked admirably to combat these two problems and thus solidify the spirit of brotherhood in our Virgin Islands. I take great pride in saluting its goals, its efforts and all of its membership as July 3 approaches.

CRUDE REGULATIONS FOR CRUDE OIL

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, on two occasions last month I called to the attention of the House the very immediate aspect of the energy crisis—the fact of severe fuel shortages for large volume uses. I called for the administration to establish allocation controls for fuels to guarantee supply to essential sectors of the economy, both public and private.

On May 21, Members of the House received from the Department of the Interior an outline of their "Voluntary Program for Allocation of Crude Oil and Refinery Products." The policy statement has much the same hollow ring of the administration's "Voluntary—but" phase III program to control inflation. We can only hope that this program has a better track record than phase III but as yet we have no evidence in hand of a commitment that matches the severity of the problem.

The allocation policy is said to aim at insuring adequate levels of supply for the food production, processing and distribution, health services, police, fire and emergency services, the various transportation modes, and residences in certain conditions.

While the breadth of coverage may be cause for cheer, the depth is lacking. By the time a shortage in these areas is sufficiently proved to the crude oil allocation bureaucracy, serious damage to the public interest will already have taken place. The threat of mandatory allocation is held out in the Department's announcement, but given the administration's unwillingness to use the dusty "club behind the door" on wages and prices, one is forced to wonder how seriously the major crude oil suppliers are going to take this warning.

I include the Interior Department's outline to be made a part of my remarks at this point in the RECORD:

ALLOCATION OF CRUDE OIL AND REFINERY PRODUCTS

The program for allocation of crude oil and refinery products will be voluntary and (1) backed up by guidelines established by the Government; (2) a mechanism for providing continuing scrutiny of compliance with these guidelines; and (3) the threat of imposition of more stringent regulations requiring reallocating crude oil and products should this program fail. General policy direction will be vested in the Oil Policy Committee; day-to-day administration of the program, in the Office of Oil and Gas (OOG). An oil allocation section shall be established in OOG to administer the program.

Under the program, each producer, refiner, marketer, jobber and distributor will agree to make available in each state to each of its customers (including those purchasers in the spot market) the same percentage of its total supply of crude oil and products that it provided during each quarter of a base period (defined as the fourth quarter of 1971 and the first three quarters of 1972).

Under the program, OOG may assign to each producer, refiner, marketer, jobber and distributor allocations for priority customers still unable to obtain needed supplies of

crude oil and products, not to exceed 10% of any supplier's total sales of crude oil and products during the base period. This assignment by OOG will be based upon demonstrated need. The basic purpose of the assignment is to assure adequate supplies of crude oil and products to priority users who, for some reason, are not well served under the proportional allocation program. It will be particularly important for fulfilling the needs of new customers that have entered the marketplace since 1971-72.

In distributing the oil for OOG allocation, priority will be given to supplying the following activities or to independent marketers, jobbers, and refiners who supply the following activities:

1. Farming, dairy and fishing activities and services directly related to the cultivation, production and preservation of food.

2. Food processing and distribution services.

3. Health, medical, dental, nursing and supporting services except commercial health and recreational activities.

4. Police, fire fighting and emergency aid services.

5. Public passenger transportation, including buses, rail, intercity and mass transit systems, but excluding tour and excursion services.

6. Rail, highway, sea and air freight transportation services, and transportation and warehousing services not elsewhere specified.

7. Other state and local government activities.

8. The fuel needs of residents in states or parts of states not well served by major oil companies and unable to obtain sufficient crude oil or products.

Wholesale and retail marketers of gasoline shall not be deemed priority customers unless they supply a substantial proportion of their product to these priority users.

When convenient, various companies may exchange supply obligations incurred under this program in order to simplify distribution problems.

The Office of Oil and Gas will receive complaints from anyone who feels he is not receiving a proper allocation of supplies. If it deems it necessary, OOG may require a public hearing and submission of data, by suppliers, on their 1971 and 1972 exchanges and/or sales of crude oil, unfinished oils and products. These data will include the names and addresses of customers, the amount of crude oil and products sold to them, the legal relationship between major oil companies and customers, and whatever other information OOG believes necessary to conduct the hearing. The OOG will then verify the accuracy of complaints against a supplier and, if justified, impose mandatory allocation on the supplier.

The price at which petroleum products shall be sold to independent marketers, wholesale distributors, and other unaffiliated customers shall not exceed normal refinery rack prices charged by major companies to new contract customers. The price which wholesale distributors may charge independent marketers shall not exceed normal wholesale prices, or normal refinery rack prices plus a normal wholesale markup.

Where independent refiners have previously received domestic crude oil in exchange for import tickets, the independent refiners will be required to surrender license fee exempt quotas in return for receiving the privilege of purchasing crude oil under the program. Where the independent refiners previously purchased crude oil without surrendering import tickets, no license fee exempt quotas will have to be surrendered. The price at which crude oil shall be sold to independent refiners shall not exceed posted crude oil prices plus an applicable pipeline transportation charge except, however, where crude oil is sold as required based upon previous exchanges of import tickets for domestic oil, the major companies may charge a price equivalent to the average landed cost

of any oil imported to replace the oil sold under the provisions of this program.

Immediately following the initiation of this program, the Oil Policy Committee shall begin hearings to determine any changes that may be required to make the program equitable to all classes of suppliers and purchasers, and whether the program should be made mandatory. The Chairman of the Oil Policy Committee will designate an ad hoc board to conduct such hearings and report its findings to the Oil Policy Committee. The board shall be composed of representatives of the Interior, Treasury, and Commerce Departments, GSA/OEP, and any other representatives as the Chairman of the Oil Policy Committee may feel appropriate. The Chairman of the Oil Policy Committee shall designate the Chairman of this board.

The Oil Policy Committee will also investigate and recommend additional measures that should be undertaken to encourage allocations by major suppliers. For example, it will investigate changes in Cost of Living Council rules and environmental standards and regulations that seem necessary to assure efficient utilization and equitable distribution of crude oil and products.

CONGRESS NEEDS BUDGET OVERVIEW

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, most of us agree that our present congressional budgetary practices are inadequate, to say the least. Now there is legislation before us that would put an end to the longstanding congressional practice of considering appropriations and other authorizations for spending as a series of unrelated bills, without priorities or limits on Federal spending. H.R. 7130 is sorely needed, for the Congress must regain effective control of the Federal purse strings.

The Milwaukee Journal in a recent editorial concurs with the recommendations made by our Joint Study Committee on Budget Control. I urge my colleagues to apply its advice.

The editorial follows:

CONGRESS NEEDS BUDGET OVERVIEW

Until the roof of Watergate collapsed on the president, all the notches were on his gun in the battle between the executive and Congress over governmental powers. More than once the president succeeded without a fight, over issues of impoundment or economic controls, as the legislative branch proved to be unable to protect its powers. Even now, with presidential authority at its nadir, Congress may again show that it has not learned its lesson.

A case in point is the congressional effort to reform the legislative branch's handling of the federal budget. Archaic practices currently allow the executive almost completely to pre-empt Congress in establishing fiscal policy and national spending priorities. Congress never looks at the budget as a whole but divides it up into small chunks that are then independently shaped by various special committees that normally are oblivious to all but their parochial views.

A joint committee on budget control recommended a basically sound mechanism for retaining the necessary overview of the budget as it passes through the two legislative houses. Total spending ceilings could be set, priorities established. The plan offered Congress an opportunity to regain a sense of fiscal responsibility that has been sadly lacking.

The proposal almost immediately attracted widespread applause. But now congressional liberals are having second thoughts because they fear the control process would be dominated by traditionalists and conservatives. This is a legitimate concern. However, the liberal burden remains to produce a workable alternative. There is a real danger that internal squabbling such as this will leave Congress with no reform procedure whatsoever, a situation that has prevailed too often in the past.

CAMBRIDGE BUDGET HEARINGS

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 31, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, Congressman THOMAS P. O'NEILL, Jr., and I, as chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Budget, announced that cities and towns in the Eighth Congressional District of Massachusetts stand to lose close to \$30 million if the Nixon budget for 1974 is accepted.

Information must be brought to the people so that the true effects of the budget cuts can be known and understood. No realistic decision can be made about the budget until we all understand what termination of these programs will mean to the cities and towns and all of the people of the Commonwealth. Massive amounts of federal aid come to every locality in the form of categorical grants. We seldom realize how much we are enabled to provide services to our citizens only because of this governmental help. Municipalities will either have to lose vital services or increase their tax rates by tremendous amounts.

The Eighth District hearing focused on the impact of the proposed budget on all aspects of housing. Witnesses from throughout the Eighth District, representing various organizations concerned with housing problems, testified before Congressman O'NEILL and myself.

The following persons representing many aspects of the impact of the proposed budget in the area of housing will testify.

Mayor Barbara Ackerman, of Cambridge.

Mary Castriotta, chairman, Cambridge Housing Authority.

Gordon Gottsch, administrator of Wellington-Harrington project representing Cambridge Redevelopment Authority.

Richard M. Brescia, president, board of directors, Cambridge Economic Opportunity Committee, Inc.

Sandra Graham, chairwoman, Cambridge City Council Committee on Housing representing Cambridge Model Cities.

Mayor S. Lester Ralph, of Somerville.

Cornelius Connors, administrator, Boston Housing Authority.

Oliver Brooks, president, Citizens Housing and Planning Association.

Ann Bromer, member of management department, MHFA, founder and past chairman of Watertown Fair Housing Committee.

Frank Manning, president, Massachusetts Association for Older Americans.

Harry McCabe, Arlington Board of Selectmen.

The effects of the budget cuts will be severely felt by local cities and towns particularly in the area of education. The following programs, which exist in many cities and towns, are funded by the Federal Government. These will be terminated under the proposed Nixon budget for fiscal year 1974.

Title I—Aid to the disadvantaged has provided moneys to improve educational programs to meet the needs of educationally disadvantaged children in low-income areas.

Title II—Library resources: Nearly all public school systems in the area and the State have received funds for library media resources every year since 1966.

Title III—Aid to innovative education: This program is designed to create innovative models supplementing the regular school curriculum, and has had a great deal of success throughout the State.

Title VI B—Education for the handicapped includes two programs which are designed to provide handicapped children with special tools of learning so that they can successfully participate in school programs.

Nutrition and health, drug abuse education, occupational, vocational, and adult education, aid to State departments of education, environmental education, and NDEA audiovisual equipment all receive 0 dollars in the Nixon budget, while bilingual education and dropout prevention, though not terminated, are severely cut.

Titles I, II, and III of the Library Services and Construction Act provide extension of library services to areas without developed libraries, strengthen regional resource centers, provide for construction of new libraries or renovation or remodeling, and help provide inter-library cooperation. Despite remarkable gain and benefits in all these areas, these programs are terminated in the Nixon budget.

Massachusetts received \$3,582,471 under the special milk program in fiscal year 1973 to help pay the cost of milk for schoolchildren. The Nixon budget terminates this program in all schools except those not having hot lunch programs.

School assistance in federally impacted areas has been terminated for category "B" students whose parents do not live on Federal property, depriving local school districts of a substantial amount of money.

Federal programs including manpower development training assistance, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and the emergency employment program have provided important and worthwhile work to many of the citizens of the Eighth Congressional District. These programs are being terminated or severely cut back.

Not only will this mean an increase in the already too high unemployment rate of the area, but services that are necessary to cities and towns will be lost or municipalities will have to increase their budgets in order to continue these programs.

Under the emergency employment

program vital services were provided to towns and cities. In some areas this meant increased police protection, rehabilitation of public buildings, improvement of park areas. These are jobs that cities and towns had not been able to afford on their own.

People employed under EEA were often those members of our society who have the most difficult time finding work; Vietnam veterans, people over 45 and those under 22.

CAMBRIDGE

The information contained in this packet does not include the huge amounts of funds that will be lost because of cutbacks in higher education, medical research and health care delivery. Harvard, MIT, Boston University and the numerous other schools of higher education and their co-op medical schools and teaching hospitals have been the recipients of Federal grants that have made it possible for cities and towns to accomplish complex tasks and have meant jobs and services to the people of the Greater Boston area and indeed the entire Commonwealth.

Statistics were compiled with the assistance of Cambridge Model Cities Agencies' "Impact Report—An Analysis of the Impact of the Reordering of Federal Budgeting Priorities on the City of Cambridge." In a forthcoming report, the Cambridge Model Cities Agency will examine in depth other aspects of the impact of the budget cuts.

I would now like to outline the specifics of the statistics:

TOTAL STATISTICS

Social service programs in Cambridge operate on a total budget of \$11,517,592: of which \$4,565,109 is used for personnel. Four hundred six full-time jobs and 267 part-time jobs are generated out of this amount with Cambridge residents holding 307 full-time and 173 part-time positions.

Of this total social service budget, about 62 percent—\$7,162,870—is provided by the Federal Government, 23 percent—\$2,644,031.58—by private sources, 8 percent—\$884,394.98—by the city and 7 percent—\$817,905—by the State.

Upon examination of Federal budget cuts and their direct and "ripple" effects on Cambridge it can be predicted that the city will receive only about half this total amount in the future. The Federal Government is reducing its commitment by at least 57 percent, directly affecting \$491,436—in city matching or supportive funds—about 56 percent of the city's total contribution to nonmunicipal social service delivery. The State and private sources can be expected to reduce their Cambridge contributions by at least \$29,400—and \$609,150, respectively.

Total employment in nonmunicipal social service delivery will be cut by at least 48 percent—affecting a minimum of 323 people—260 of them—80 percent—Cambridge residents. Total payroll loss can be expected to run to at least \$2,142,906—\$1,693,985, 78 percent, to Cambridge residents alone.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

Health: The hospital has lost a \$40,000 Public Health Service grant for

nursing training. The director feels that the patients will have to absorb the cost of nursing education rather than cut back on the size of the school.

Crime and juvenile delinquency: Youth Resources Bureau—Youth Resources Bureau, Inc.—K. Saravelas, director.

The Youth Resources Bureau works to reduce the rate of delinquency in Cambridge through both prevention and rehabilitation services. It is not known yet whether a \$87,000 LEAA grant will be renewed. If it is not, this funding cut will reduce the level of activity in the Junior Advocate program, as well as the amount of program development and will wipe out the in-house evaluation capability. The Bureau does not see much opportunity to generate Federal funds to maintain or increase their services. Rather, they see this objective being met by the assumption by the YRB of expanded responsibility for youth programming within the city.

EDUCATION AND MANPOWER SUMMARY

Information was collected on 22 Education—including child care—and manpower programs which have a cumulative budget of \$4,100,093. These funds have generated 311 jobs, of which 234 are filled by Cambridge residents. Roughly 75 percent of these funds come from the Federal Government, from the Departments of HEW and DOL. About one-third of the Federal funds will be lost in 1974 due principally to terminations in manpower and the remedial education programs. Relatively few State and private funds seem to be in jeopardy. However, in child care, the Odd Hour program will terminate unless alternate funding can be found, while other programs are suffering from a tightening of regulations and eligibility criteria. In terms of positions, many of them are from Cambridge.

Several of the agencies are looking toward the foundation to provide alternate funding, and several more have applied to other State and Federal sources. The manpower and training programs have been particularly hard hit as the Public Service Careers programs—and the Neighborhood Youth Corps—are going to be terminated, and the Neighborhood Youth Corps has lost over two-thirds of its funding.

EDUCATION

Remedial programs: Development in reading efficiency, DIRE, Cambridge School Department, Dr. John P. Sennott, director.

The DIRE program provides remedial reading instruction based on an individualized approach for students in grades 1 through 4; 400 children from 14 schools participate in the program. The \$261,762.92 that the program operates on is provided by HEW—Title I, PL 89-10 ESEA. Thirty full-time people are employed by the program, 20 of them are Cambridge residents. At this time, the program director, Dr. John Sennott, does not expect a substantial decrease in amount of funding.

Follow-through program, Cambridge School Department, Dr. Hugh Corbin, director.

This project offers coordinated social, psychological, health and nutritional services to 300 children from the Fitzgerald, Roberts and Harrington school districts. Dr. Corbin expects that \$14,752 will be lost from Follow-through funds and that \$46,200 could be lost from title I ESEA funds. The results of these cuts will mean: cutting entirely their contract with Family Counseling to families with problem children; eliminating travel funds that enabled staff to visit the Bank St. College of Education for training; cutting back in their ability to deliver dentist's care to children and eliminating the medical consultant; cutting 75 percent of the food services budget to children; and reducing to a minimum the amount of instructional supplies for the classrooms. The program has requested funds from the school department as well as from local foundations and corporations.

Curriculum development: The multi-ethnic program, Cambridge School Department, Dr. Powers and Dr. Boyce, directors.

This demonstration program was responsible for introducing special multi-ethnic units into the regular social studies curricula of the School Department. The Model Cities Agency funded the program as a 1-year demonstration project and the school department is assuming it as a regular part of their educational planning and development.

The instructional aides program, Cambridge School Department.

The School Department has assumed increasing responsibility for this program which provides 22 teacher aides to 4 Model Neighborhood Schools; the Roberts, the Fletcher, the Harrington, and the Longfellow. The School Department now pays 65 percent of the cost of the program and could be expected to assume the remainder if MCA funds were lost.

ADULT EDUCATION

Cambridge Center for Adult Education, Ms. A. O'Laughlin.

The Center offers approximately 350 noncredit courses, 4 times a year in a wide range of subjects. It does not receive funds other than private grants and gifts.

Community Learning Center, Cambridge Public Library, Ms. J. Costa, director.

The CLC is designed to serve adults who need basic educational skills or job-related college training. The target population can be described as the 68 percent of MNA adults who have not completed high school and the 30 to 40 percent non-English speaking MNA residents. The loss of Model Cities funding will wipe out most of the CLC program. At the present time the only funding the program is relatively certain of is the VISTA money. If they lose HEW and MCA funds only the teacher trainees paid for through VISTA will remain. Nine employees would lose their jobs, all of them Cambridge residents. The Massachusetts Department of Education and the HEW-Bureau of Adult Vocational and Technical Education are possible funding sources.

CHILD CARE PROGRAMS

Model Cities Day Care Program, Cambridge Headstart, Inc., Ms. Claire Mason, director.

The Model Cities Program which provides full day care for 60 children from the MNA is primarily funded by the State Department of Public Welfare. While funding itself is not in jeopardy—except for the \$30,000 of MCA funds that will be lost—new eligibility and financial accountability regulations may mean that the program could lose some of its allocated slots and a consequent reduction in number of staff.

MANPOWER

Public Service Careers, MCA, W. Lirby, director.

The Model Cities' administered PSC program provided educational and vocational training opportunities for 88 low-income individuals employed in the public sector. Additionally, it worked toward the relaxation of existing civil service barriers against the employment of low-income people. The termination of the Public Service Careers program by the Department of Labor ended this program on April 28.

Public Service Careers, CEOC, Dolores Mendelson, director.

The Public Service Careers program provides low-income employees of CEOC—and five other CAP agencies—with educational opportunities, skill training and necessary supportive services to aid them in advancing into careers in the human services field. The termination of the PSC by the Department of Labor will eliminate service delivery to 150 clients.

Neighborhood Youth Corps, Franklin Wright, director.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, funded by the Department of Labor and administered through CEOC, provides youth—through in-school, out-of-school and summer components—with an opportunity for paid work experience, meaningful job training and additional supportive services. Budgetary cuts in this program will eliminate approximately 900 jobs for young people.

The Free Employment Office, City Department of Budget and Personnel, James Mulcahy, director.

This program funds the employment of 52 Cambridge residents in public sector jobs throughout the city. For example, 6 positions were filled at the Cambridge Public Library from Emergency Employment Act funds. While the funding for Free Employment Office has been extended for an additional 15 months, it appears that the moneys will not be sufficient to continue the program at its present level of 52 slots. At the library the loss of the six FEEA funded positions will mean that outreach service will be terminated at the branch libraries, drop-in centers, day care centers and community schools. Bookmobile service will be cutback and off the road during illness and vacations.

RECREATION

Cambridge Community Schools Recreational Services, Cambridge Com-

muity Schools, Barbara Hansel, director.

The Recreational Services program provides a wide variety of recreational services to model neighborhood area residents; particularly the children. Programs operated include two preteen centers, a year-round after-school program and an intensive schedule of summer events. Programs that address the special needs of the elderly, adults, and families are also operated.

The Recreational Services component of Community Schools is completely funded by the Model Cities Agency. In the absence of replacement funding, the program would be discontinued.

ADVOCACY

Advocacy programs or agencies are defined, for purposes of this study, as those programs or agencies which assist any specific and predetermined segment of the general populace in organizing desires and positions to those segments of general society, government, and private enterprise which affect their state of well-being, and in asserting more control over their environment in general. Advocacy is also defined as individual assistance granted to members of a predefined group in any phase of their dealings with social, private or governmental institutions beyond the group.

Of the 15 advocacy programs surveyed, 12 relied wholly or predominantly upon Federal funding to meet operational costs. All twelve responded that they would be affected adversely by Federal cutbacks. Ten face certain termination of operation; one faces a certain 80-percent cutback in service delivery and likely termination; another faces a 5- to 10-percent cutback in service delivery. Of the \$1,670,200 received by the 12 last year from the Federal Government, \$1,346,450 will not be renewed. This means 124 people—97 of them Cambridge residents—will lose their jobs—for a total payroll loss of \$974,724—\$767,125 of which went to Cambridge residents.

COPA relies on a Model Cities funding of \$31,000 for basic operational costs, without which it will be unable to continue staffed operations. This, in turn, will be the result in the termination of various grants and in-kind matching having an annual total dollar value of \$56,050 and complete suspension of all ongoing programs and services.

Cambridge Spanish Council, Spanish Council, Inc., Natalie S. O'Connor, director.

The Spanish Council provides a broad range of social services to the Cambridge Hispanic community including referral and in the areas of education, health, recreation, housing, employment, legal assistance, immigration and naturalization assistance, and homemaking instruction.

Loss of Model Cities core moneys of \$31,000 and OEO in-kind contributions amounting to \$7,500 will result in program termination in the absence replacement funding from other sources. OEO presently funds a proposal writer whose services are shared with COPA and who

is engaged in a full-time effort to locate such funding in both the public and private sectors.

Concerned Black Parents, Concerned Black Parents, Inc., Octavia Hudson, director.

Concerned Black Parents work to improve the quality of education in Cambridge by working on a day-to-day basis with the school administration. It also supports a scholarship fund for deserving high school seniors in the public schools.

Model Cities provides \$31,000 for staffings of Concerned Black Parents. Removal of this funding will result in discontinuance of staffed operations.

Cambridge Civic Committee, Cambridge City Government, Clorae Everette, director.

The Civic Unity Committee studies existing educational practices within the city and works with the Department of Education to formulate and encourage educational policies and practices calculated to increase the educational opportunities of Cambridge citizens. The committee also works toward the elimination of discrimination in housing, toward better police-community relations, and toward improved medical and health care within the Cambridge community.

The Civic Unity Committee is completely funded by the city of Cambridge and expects no drastic revision of its budget.

Cambridge Council on Aging, Cambridge City Government, Charles Moore, chairman.

It is difficult to assess the impact of loss of full-time staff on the continued operation of advocacy organizations. No doubt most will continue to exist in some form, but their ability to provide individuals services and referrals will obviously suffer badly. In some cases the possibility of alternative funding exists, but most programs seem pessimistic about successfully procuring it.

ADVOCACY

Model Cities Administration, MCA, James L. Farrell, director.

The Model Cities Administration monitors the operation of 11 contracting agencies in the areas of health and social services, housing, manpower, education, and recreation as well as engaging in planning and evaluation activities within the model neighborhood and the city as a whole.

Suspension of HUD funding of Cambridge Model Cities at the end of the 4th action year on December 31, 1973, will result in the termination of the program as it is now constituted.

Cambridge Economic Opportunity Committee, Inc. Administration, CEOC, David Entin, director.

CEOC operates and/or sponsors 12 program components providing services in the area of community organization, manpower, housing, health, youth, elderly, and education.

Defunding of the Office of Economic Opportunity will end direct service program, support for neighborhood-based groups and organizations, and the capability to provide administrative, fiscal, and community planning services. Un-

less Federal court suits halt the dismantling to OEO at the Federal level or the State appropriates funds for community action agencies in Massachusetts; CEOC can only hope to continue to exist in a minimal survival budget.

Cambridge Organization of Portuguese Americans, COPA, Aurelio Torres, director.

COPA is a multiservice agency dealing primarily, but not exclusively with those of Portuguese descent. Its role in the community focuses on advocacy, referrals, and information in such areas as child care, housing, legal affairs, employment, welfare, health, education, language, and immigration.

The Council on Aging attempts to determine the needs of the Cambridge elderly community and develop plans to satisfy these needs.

The council presently receives \$10,684.98 from the city to carry out its mandate and expects this funding will not be diminished.

CEOC Elderly Services Committee of Elders, CEOC, Robert Wheatly, coordinator.

Elderly Services had two main goals: To maintain and strengthen the organization of senior citizens through the Committee of Elders, and to coordinate with community agencies to insure the development and effective operation of programs to serve the elderly citizens of Cambridge.

Termination of CEOC funding will deprive the Committee of Elders of community organizers and technical assistance.

CEOC Youth Development program Youth Councils, CEOC, Howard Stickler, coordinator.

The Youth Development program assists the activities of the Youth Councils within the six CEOC Planning Team neighborhoods. The councils identify their own particular needs and work with other resident groups, agencies, and institutions to involve youth in community issues, especially those affecting the lives of young people.

Termination of CEOC funding will deprive the Youth Councils of staff community organizers and technical assistance.

CEOC Community Relations and Service, CEOC, Dan Harkins, director.

Community Relations and Services supports the participation of neighborhood residents in defining neighborhood needs, identifying resources and assisting Neighborhood Planning teams in carrying out neighborhood development programs. The major purpose of the project is to support and strengthen the citizen participatory structure of the Planning Teams, the Board of Directors, and the Task Forces. The project aims at having a major impact on the attitudes and resource allocation of the community to resolve the problems of poverty.

Termination of CEOC funding will result in cessation of activities.

City Demonstration Agency, Inc., CDA, Inc., Frank Fraumeni, interim director.

CDA, Inc. attempts to organize interested residents into planning councils in the areas of housing, recreation, edu-

cation, manpower, health and social services and municipal and environmental affairs to make recommendations to the CDA/Model Cities Neighborhood Board on the needs and requirements of the community. CDA staff also provides a liaison with other agencies and departments operating in the community.

CDA, Inc. is completely funded by the Model Cities Agency and would terminate staff operations in the absence of such funding.

Urban Planning Aid, Urban Planning Aid, Inc., James S. Turner, director.

Urban Planning Aid assists all people the low-income community and workplace groups with problems in housing, transportation, and industrial health and safety.

UPA expects to lose \$219,000 of a \$286,000 OEO grant and will be forced to discontinue almost all ongoing programs and reduce clientele service by 80 percent.

Tenant Senate, Tenant Senate, Inc.

The Tenant Senate attempts to reduce the number of physical, social and economic problems in public housing projects and provides information to tenants regarding housing policy which may affect them. The Tenant Senate staff also seeks to facilitate tenants' relationships with the Housing Authority.

The Tenant Senate is totally funded by the Model Cities Agency and will be forced to cease staffed operations in the absence of MCA funding.

HOUSING AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

The complexity of the issue of the status of Housing and Physical Development in Cambridge in light of apparent new Federal directions, dictates that consideration of the issue be divided according to the scale and relative impact of the service providers.

As can be seen, the four programs surveyed are dependent upon Federal funding for their total operating expenses. While \$984,526 in city and private moneys is involved, this funding is conditional in each case upon an initial Federal commitment. It is reasonably certain, therefore, that with the withdrawal of this Federal support of all four programs, with an aggregate budget of \$1,707,653, will be forced to suspend operations, laying off nine employees—seven of whom are Cambridge residents—with a total payroll loss to Cambridge residents of \$74,500.

Statistics follow:

PART A.—HOUSING AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Home Improvement Program:

Total Budget: \$208,200¹.

Personnel Budget: \$14,000.

Number of Employees: 1.

Number of Clients: 92².

Work Equity Program:

Total Budget: \$466,200³.

Personnel Budget: \$31,500.

Number of Employees: 2 (1)*.

Number of Cambridge Resident Employees: 2 (1).

Number of Clients: 35⁴.

*Figures in parentheses indicate part-time employees.

¹ Includes \$144,000 anticipated in loans through private lending institutions.

² In 1971-1972.

³ Includes \$360,000 anticipated in loans through private lending institutions.

⁴ Anticipated clients in 1973-74.

Open Space Program:

Total Budget: \$956,253.

C.E.O.C. Housing Development:

Total Budget: \$77,000.

Personnel Budget: \$57,000.

Number of Employees: 3 (2).

Number of Cambridge Resident Employees: 2 (2).

Number of Clients: 3,000.

Totals

Total Budget: \$1,707,653.

Personnel Budget: \$102,500.

Number of Employees: 6 (3).

Number of Cambridge Resident Employees: 4 (3).

PART B—HOUSING AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Home Improvement Program:

Federal: Money Received: \$63,000. Money Lost: \$63,000.

Private: Money Received: \$145,200. Money Lost: \$144,000.⁵

Total Budget: \$208,200.

Total Loss: \$207,000.

Work Equity Program:

Federal: Money Received: \$105,000. Money Lost: \$105,000.

Private: Money Received: \$361,200. Money Lost: \$360,000.⁶

Total Budget: \$466,200.

Total Loss: \$465,000.

Open Space Program:

Federal: Money Received, \$478,127. Money Lost: \$478,127.

City: Money Received: \$478,126. Money Lost: \$478,126.

Total Budget: \$956,253.

Total Loss: \$956,253.

C.E.O.C. Housing Development:

Federal: Money Received: \$77,000. Money Lost: \$77,000.

Total Budget: \$77,000.

Total Loss: \$77,000.

Federal:

Total Received: \$723,127. Total Lost: \$723,127.

City:

Total Received: \$478,126. Total Lost: \$478,126.

Private:

Total Received: \$506,400. Total Lost: \$504,000.

Total Budget:

Total Received: \$1,707,653.

Total Loss:

Total Loss: \$1,705,253.

PART C—HOUSING AND PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT

Home and Improvement Program:

Personnel Cut: Total: 1.

Payroll Loss: Total: \$14,000.

Reduction in Service Delivery: Complete.

Availability of Alternative Funding: Unclear.

Work Equity Program:

Personnel Cuts: Total: 2 (1)*. Cambridge Residents: \$2 (1).

Payroll Loss: Total: \$31,500. Cambridge Residents: \$31,500.

Reduction in Service Delivery: Complete.

Availability of Alternative Funding: Unclear.

Open Space Program:

Reduction in Service Delivery: Complete. Availability of Alternative Funding: No.

C.E.O.C. Housing Development:

Personnel Cuts: Total: 3 (2). Cambridge Residents: 2 (2). Cambridge Residents: \$43,000⁷.

Payroll Loss: Total: \$57,000.

Reduction in Service Delivery: Complete. Availability of Alternative Funding: Unclear.

Open Space Program:

Reduction in Service Delivery: Complete. Availability of Alternative Funding: Unclear.

⁵ Includes anticipated loss of \$144,000 in loans from private lending institutions.

⁶ Includes anticipated loss of \$360,000 in loans from private lending institutions.

⁷ Approximate figure.

* Figures in Parentheses indicate part-time employees.

Totals:

Personnel Cuts: Total: 6 (3). Cambridge Residents: 4 (3).

Payroll Loss: Total: \$102,500. Cambridge Residents: \$74,500.

SOMERVILLE

The figures contained in the following information are minimal amounts and it is to be noted that there are other areas which will be adversely affected.

Statistics were compiled with the assistance of Mayor S. Lester Ralph, and Carl B. Johnston, Mayor's Funding and Development Coordinator's "Effect of Federal Budget Cuts on Somerville."

PROPOSED FEDERAL BUDGET

LOSS

City

1. Program: Emergency Employment. Federal Fund Source: Department of Labor.

F.Y. 1973: \$736,359.

F.Y. 1974: 0.

Job Loss: 85 full time and 40 summer youth.

Service Loss: 2 drop-in centers for elderly, gone; food delivery to 700 elderly and infirm, gone; 3 street workers for delinquent teens, gone; 4 community school workers, gone, program eliminated; public housing maintenance, cut back; renovation staff for century old school buildings, gone; highway department, cut back; code enforcement, cut back by ½ and 90% housing predates 1930; funding and development arm of Executive Department cut by ½, cut back.

Schools

2. Program: Educationally disadvantaged. Federal Fund Source: HEW Title I, PL 89-10.

F.Y. 1973: \$572,000.

F.Y. 1974: likely out.

Job Loss: 250.

Service Loss: 3400 educationally deprived children lose opportunity for special assistance.

3. Program: School Libraries.

Federal Fund Source: HEW Title II.

F.Y. 1973: \$20,710.

F.Y. 1974: likely out by 1975.

Job Loss: 1.

Service Loss: Century old schools without libraries lose opportunity for this equipment to children.

4. Program: Innovative Education.

Federal Fund Source: HEW—Title III.

F.Y. 1973: \$15,000.

F.Y. 1974: likely out.

Job Loss: none.

Service Loss: Old system and old curriculum loses opportunity to develop new programs common to new systems.

5. Program: Handicapped.

Federal Fund Source: HEW—Title VI B.

F.Y. 1973: \$12,000.

F.Y. 1974: likely out.

Job Loss: 1.

Service Loss: Loss of opportunity for handicapped and retarded.

6. Program: Adult Basic Education.

Federal Fund Source: HEW—ABE.

F.Y. 1973: \$15,000.

F.Y. 1974: likely out.

Job Loss: as many as 100 trained for new jobs.

Service Loss: Literacy training and high-school equivalency for adults in city with median of 11th grade.

7. Program: Aide for children of military.

Federal Fund Source: PL 874.

F.Y. 1973: \$61,000.

F.Y. 1974: 0.

Job Loss: none.

Service Loss: Extra burden to city for children here due to federal projects but not living on military bases.

8. Program: Leased Housing.
F.Y. 1974: 100 units planned are eliminated (new units)—\$250,000.

9. Program: New scattered site housing.
F.Y. 1974: \$750,000 for 20 new units approved for families—approval rescinded.

I LOSS

Somerville Hospital

1. Program: Nursing Student Scholarships.
Federal Fund Source: HEW.
F.Y. 1973: \$85,561.

F.Y. 1974: 0.
Job Loss: 30 nursing student grants.
Service Loss: Career training, student nurses in hospital, increased expense to families of students.

2. Program: Neighborhood Health Centers.
Federal Fund Source: OEO via EMOC.
F.Y. 1973: \$9,080.

F.Y. 1974: 0.
Job Loss: Pediatrician time.
Service Loss: Health services to about 3,000 low income people.

3. Program: Hospital and health center building.

Federal Fund Source: HEW Hill-Burton.
F.Y. 1973: \$200,000.

Job Loss: 30 construction.
Service Loss: New facility for community without easy access to other hospitals.

Neighborhood Youth Corps

Federal Fund Source: Department of Labor—EMOC.
F.Y. 1973: \$238,000.

F.Y. 1974: 0.
Job Loss: 407 summer youth; 35 year round; 12 staff.

Service Loss: Park renovation for teens and environmental education, audio-visual training, arts training, tutorial, experience in Columbia, South America journalism training, early childhood training.

Somerville Anti-Poverty Project-EMOC

1. Program: Somerville Services; 2 Health Centers; 2 Elderly Drop-In Centers; Food Delivery to Elderly and Infirmary; Mystic Learning Center; Alternative High School; and Food Coop.

Federal Fund Source: OEO.
F.Y. 1973: \$103,000.

F.Y. 1974: 0.
Job Loss: 14.
Service Loss: Services listed would need to close and cut service mostly for children and elderly.

2. Program: Planning and Administration.
Federal Fund Source: OEO.
F.Y. 1973: \$40,000.

F.Y. 1974: 0.
Job Loss: 3.
Service Loss: Coordination for above services.

3. Program: Headstart—Day Care. Federal Fund Source: HER IV A. F.Y. 1973: \$280,000.
F.Y. 1974: about \$200,000 (loss of about \$80,000). Job loss: 10.

Service Loss: 2 classrooms of children.

Cambridge/Somerville Legal Services

Federal Fund Source: OEO. F.Y. 1973: \$122,000 for Somerville. F.Y. 1974: could be totally out. Job Loss: 6.

Service Loss: legal services to hundreds of people.

EFFECTS OF FEDERAL CUTS ON INDIVIDUALS IN SOMERVILLE GAIN

This is obviously a very difficult area to give a dollar value. Presumably if through general revenue sharing it is possible to keep property taxes from escalating the individual taxpayer has more dollars to spend.

LOSS

However, more expensive medical costs, especially, for elderly—due to hospital research cuts, Hill-Burton and

medicare formula changes for elderly, et cetera—will result in higher fees to individual taxpayers. Reduction in grants for college students—NSF, NIH, Work Study, Nursing Student Scholarships, et cetera—will mean the blue collar family trying to educate their sons and daughters will have an even harder time succeeding in financing this opportunity for a professional career. Veterans, a group which has large representation in Somerville, will find expenses increasing because of proposed Federal budget cuts—veteran disability benefit, insured and guaranteed loans. Housing shortages are severe with a less than 1 percent vacancy rate and loss of new private housing development—two Somerville projects specifically cut by HUD—will cost the citizen in tax revenue to the city available housing and jobs.

LOSS IN NEW PROJECTS

This also is difficult to attach a dollar value to since it is projects which the city planned to process but was told by HUD and others not to bother to submit.

Somerville had submitted preliminary material for a \$300,000 neighborhood facility in an isolated section of the city and had started work on a \$400,000 concentrated code proposal. These were scrapped.

Somerville was told to cut their title I higher education CATV proposal \$40,000 due to fund cuts.

Somerville lost two private housing developments because HUD told developers they could not continue even though both projects were well into application stage—one had been granted a go-ahead—later rescinded.

Somerville was told not to submit a \$150,000 park-in-cities proposal last fall which was part of a comprehensive park improvement project in this city with 22,000 people per square mile.

HIGHER EDUCATION—STUDENT AID

Approximately 1,200 local students received some form of Federal financial aid while attending Tufts University in 1973. It is estimated that as many as half of these students would not be able to attend college without financial aid.

The three basic programs of financial aid are the Educational Opportunity Grants, the National Direct Student Loan—formerly National Defense Loans—and the Work-Study program. The Nixon budget terminates the first two programs and weakens the third.

Educational Opportunity Grants would be ended and replaced by the Basic Opportunity Grant for which most students whose families earned between \$7,000 and \$12,000 a year would not be eligible.

National Direct Student Loans are made to students through their schools. The President proposes replacing this with the guaranteed loan program. However, past experience has shown that students with proven need have the most difficult time obtaining such loans from commercial banks.

Many schools had hoped to expand their Work-Study programs. However, serious changes under the programs will mean that more students will be able to work fewer hours and earn less money.

Tufts University, 1973

Educational Opportunity Grants, 250 students	\$310,000
National Defense Student Loans, 900-1,000 students	625,000
Work Study program, 350 students	220,000
Total	1,155,000

ARLINGTON

Total School Enrollment: 9,186.

Title I—Educationally Deprived Children: fiscal year 1973, \$187,200; 320 student served; eight full-time employees; seven part-time employees.

Anticipated in fiscal year 1974: \$76,084.

Title II—Library Resources: fiscal year, \$14,443. Anticipated in fiscal year 1974: \$14,600.

Title I—Vocational Education: fiscal year 1973, \$32,704; 100 students served; three full-time employees; two part-time employees.

Anticipated in fiscal year 1974: \$32,704.

Title I, part H, Vocational Education; work study: fiscal year 1973, \$1,000; five students served; one full-time employee.

School Assistance in Federally Impacted Areas: fiscal year 1973, \$140,959.

Special Milk Program: fiscal year 1973, \$20,000 to \$25,000; 5,000 students served.

Emergency Employment Act: Peak employment under EEA, July 1972; 19 persons. Weekly payroll: \$2,747.

BELMONT

Total school enrollment: 5,048.

Title I—Educationally deprived children: fiscal year 1973, \$28,037; 148 students served; 2 full-time employees; 6 part-time employees.

Anticipated in fiscal year 1974: \$36,409.

Estimated income of families of children served by title I is below \$3,000 yearly.

Title II—Library resources: fiscal year 1973, \$5,564. Anticipated in fiscal year 1974, \$5,565.

Title VI—Handicapped: anticipated in fiscal year 1974: VI-D, \$29,200; VI-B, \$16,000; total: \$45,000.

Nutrition and health: fiscal year 1973, estimated \$38,951; approximately 1,670 students served.

Anticipated in fiscal year 1974, \$50,600.

Title I—Vocational education: fiscal year 1973, \$10,025; 20 students served; 1 employee.

Anticipated in fiscal year 1974, \$5,000.

Title I—part H, vocational education—work study: fiscal year 1973, \$10,447; 29 students served; 1 employee.

Anticipated in fiscal year 1974, \$5,223.

School assistance in federally impacted areas: fiscal year 1973, \$67,141; 157 students served.

Special milk program: fiscal year 1973, estimated \$10,659. Anticipated in fiscal year 1974, \$9,800.

ELDERLY

Programs that have been terminated that affect the elderly include many of the housing programs such as rent subsidies, nonprofit sponsor housing which allowed nonprofit organizations to build housing for low-income groups including the elderly, and rent supplements. More important may be the loss of various so-

cial services provided by community action agencies and model cities agencies; these include senior citizens hot meal programs, legal services, and others.

One of the most severe changes that will increase the costs to the elderly is the proposed Nixon change in the deductible under medicare. The amount that elderly will have to pay to supplement medicare hospital and physician payments will rise appreciably.

HOSPITAL CARE

At present: For the first 60 days \$72 deductible; 61st to 90th hospital day \$18 per day deductible.

Nixon plan: Full cost of first hospital day, average \$90; 10 percent of full cost of each hospital day after the first—average \$15 per day.

A 2-week hospitalization would cost an elderly person a minimum of \$300.

PHYSICIANS' COST

At present: Physicians average, \$600. Medicare patient pays \$168.

Nixon plan: Physicians average, \$600. Medicare patient pays \$214.

For those people on Medicaid, all dental care has been eliminated.

PEDAL POWER: POLITICAL SOLUTION TO THE GASOLINE SHORTAGE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a recent press release from the Department of the Interior indicates the extents to which some administration officials will go "in a conscientious effort to conserve gasoline."

It seems that the Secretary of the Interior, Rogers C. B. Morton, has forsaken his Cadillac limousine as "an example for all Americans to follow," favoring instead a Plymouth Fury sedan "to accommodate his official transportation needs." Such self-sacrifice should certainly not go unheralded.

It should be noted that the Secretary's limousine has not been sidelined completely, however. Use of the Cadillac has been restricted to hauling "foreign and other dignitaries during State and similar functions."

If the Secretary wanted to go a bit further in setting the example for all Americans, he might follow the lead of the enterprising city officials of Scottsdale, Ariz. The city has rented a number of bicycles for use by municipal employees to replace automobiles on trips within a mile of city offices.

Certainly, Mr. Morton would have to make modifications in the Scottsdale pedal power plan. For instance, he would need a bicycle built for two to accommodate his chauffeur. A deluxe model bicycle may be needed to pedal the foreign dignitaries around Washington—just to show them that the gasoline situation in this country is indeed serious.

Mr. Rogers will surely have more success pedaling a bicycle than peddling his ideas for a technological halt as an answer to the energy crisis.

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the 15th observance of Captive Nations Week will be held both here and abroad this July 15-21. This annual observance is based on Public Law 86-90 which in July 1959, Congress legislated and President Eisenhower signed into law. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that despite all sorts of changes in foreign policy and objective circumstances abroad, the captive nations in Eurasia and Cuba still remain very much captive. Developing a captive nations analysis of global affairs over the years, Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky of Georgetown University, who is also the chairman of the National Captive Nations Committee and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, brings this out in a challenging article titled "On the Threshold of New Captive Nations," which appears in the summer issue of the internationally renowned periodical *The Ukrainian Quarterly*. On this 15th observance I urge every American to read carefully the sobering analysis contained in the article: *ON THE THRESHOLD OF NEW CAPTIVE NATIONS*

(By Lev E. Dobriansky)

If there is one broad and firm constant in the whole diverse sphere of global affairs today, it is unquestionably the continuing stark reality of the captive nations. Yet, curiously enough but with explicative reasons, this fixed reality receives minimal and passing attention as our involvements, both domestic and international, cause us to lose sight of this constant of one billion people in communist captivity and its long-run importance and significance to our free national survival. Indeed, so deeply involved are we with immediate concerns, ranging from inflation and energy shortages to trade and cultural opportunities with the Soviet Union and mainland China, that few of us are even aware of the fact that we stand today on the threshold of new captive nations. Should this threshold be crossed in the near future, its widespread consequences and negative impact for the Free World, and American leadership in particular, would be grave, to say the least.

The time to re-think and reflect on this basic issue and its fundamental relevance to our national security and free future is annually provided by Captive Nations Week. In accordance with Public Law 86-90, which Congress passed and President Eisenhower signed in July 1959, the 1973 Week will be observed both here and abroad during July 15-21. This will be the 15th Observance.

For several years now communist capitals have assumed the stance that Captive Nations Week is a thing of the Cold War past, despite the empirical realities of the Brezhnev doctrine, the captive status of the underlying populations, and the totalitarian power wielded over these peoples. For example, last year Radio Moscow described "Captive Nations Week as a completely outdated affair." Obviously the wish of the totalitarian communist regimes is that it would be so, and they are banking heavily on elements of ignorance and indifference in the West to make the wish true.

During last year's observance the public question raised was "How well do you know the captive nations?" Advanced on a spot-check basis at various rallies and ceremonies across the country, the question was answered

ed in a variety of inaccurate ways, ranging from the non-existence of captive nations to the few in Central Europe. The more numerous in the Soviet Union, in Asia and even Cuba were scarcely recognized as such. It is this type of popular unfamiliarity with the essential facts of global life that Moscow and to some extent Peking are banking on in the execution of their long-range plans. If our indicators are correct, there is not only the pressing need for popular information on this score but even the greater need for leadership on the part of our inform-opinion makers in government, the press, academia and other sectors to have these essential facts become generally known so that, as the President has recently stressed, we can seek "the philosophical, as well as the practical, reorientation of our foreign policy. This is the primary challenge of a radically different world. If America is to provide the leadership that only it can, Americans must identify with new visions and purposes."

Regrettably, one finds shortcomings of thought even among those who devoted some study to certain parts of the world. For example, in his recent memoirs a former ambassador to the Soviet Union writes with reference to the Captive Nations Week as follows: "This resolution committed the United States, insofar as Congress had the power to do so, to the 'liberation' of twenty-two 'nations,' two of which had never had any real existence, and the name of one of which appears to have been invented in the Nazi propaganda ministry during the recent war." What most seems to bother the writer are the listings of Cossackia and Idel-Ural. Neither term was the creation of any Nazi ministry—the first recorded as far back as the 18th century and the latter referring to an attempted independent state in 1917-20—and each applies to specific captive peoples in the USSR with a distinctive consciousness that far exceeds that of many inhabitants in the newly-founded states of Africa.

THOSE FREE NATIONS ON THE THRESHOLD

With the course of events moving swiftly since the President initiated what has come to be known as the Nixon Doctrine, it is well for us to become aware of the historical domino fact of captive nations since 1920. Despite geographical distances, what has been in process in Asia cannot rationally be divorced from earlier communist takeovers in Eastern Europe. Thus, as we consider those on the threshold of new captive nations, it is necessary for one's overall perspective to review the scorecard of captive nations:

Year of Communist domination

People or nation:

Armenia	1920
Azerbaijan	1920
Byelorussia	1920
Cossackia	1920
Georgia	1920
Idel-Ural	1920
North Caucasus	1920
Ukraine	1920
Far Eastern Republic	1922
Turkestan	1922
Mongolian People's Republic	1924
Estonia	1940
Latvia	1940
Lithuania	1940
Albania	1946
Bulgaria	1946
Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, et cetera, in Yugoslavia	1946
Poland	1947
Rumania	1947
Czecho-Slovakia	1948
North Korea	1948
Hungary	1949
East Germany	1949
Mainland China	1949
Tibet	1951
North Vietnam	1954
Cuba	1960

Except for the 30's, there isn't a decade

Footnotes at end of article.

in which communist aggression, spurred on primarily by Moscow, hasn't succeeded in acquiring another captive nation. For the decade of the 70's the dominant question is "Who's Next?" Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam, the Republic of China? When the President spoke before the South Carolina legislature and stated our goal in Vietnam, he very simply was determined to answer this question in the negative. He said, "It was, very simply, to prevent the imposition by force of a Communist government on the 17 million people of South Vietnam. That was our goal and we achieved that goal and we can be proud we stuck it out until we did reach that goal."⁵ It is too late now to recount our cumulative errors in Vietnam, particularly our early inability to recognize the type of revolutionary warfare, and it is also too late to argue about an Asianization policy there as an alternative to Vietnamization, one that could have been instituted as late as 1969.⁶

The extremely tenuous fabric of deals with Peiping and Moscow, agreements with Hanoi, and dependence on bombing retaliation, economic aid, and domestic compliances cast a dark shadow over the future of the nations in Indo-China as well as the Republic of China. All current, substantial evidence points to the eventual outcome of new captive nations. Evidently with implicit faith in Hanoi's strategy to envelope South Vietnam from Laos and Cambodia and to capitalize on the marked territorial and political concessions given to it in the south, Peiping continues with its program of subversion aimed at Thailand, Burma and other Asia neighbors. On more than one occasion Brezhnev and the Kremlin have pledged continued support to Hanoi and the Vietcong and expressed faith in the "ultimate triumph of their cause."⁷ The multiple violations of the accord by Hanoi, as seen in the infiltration of hundreds of Soviet and Chinese tanks, missiles and other material into the south, have all the earmarks of a build-up for protracted warfare of calculated intensity in the south. Ideology may be rhetorically brushed aside, but when a Le Duc Tho openly states at a press conference—"I am a Communist and according to Marxist-Leninist theory, so long as imperialism exists there will be war"—you had better believe him.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that with regard to any of the partitioned states the wars conducted are essentially international and not civil. This old communist technique was used as far back as 1918 in Georgia, Ukraine and other nations before they became captive. So in Vietnam, China and Korea. The recent slip by Dr. Kissinger about a "painful process of negotiation after 10 years of civil war" tends to indicate a perspectival shortcoming of basic importance. As a matter of fact his observation last year that the U.S. favored the peaceful resolution of disagreements between Peiping and Taipei, as though this were solely a civil war case, is being used by Peiping in its present psychological warfare against Taipei. As an old defector to Mao, Fu Tso-yi, put it, "It is very obvious. How long can Taiwan rely on the United States? Absolutely not long."

THE RESOLUTION AND AMERICA'S COURSE

With all the complexities involved, the dynamic foreign policy course pursued by the President is firmly directed toward the insurance of world peace and rests on the fundamental assumption that communist adversaries will honor all consummated agreements. This is undoubtedly a challenging course and has reaped substantial results, so far. What is a period of negotiations, not confrontation is really a period of the confrontation of negotiations. Though there are certain psycho-political costs sustained in this course of action, such as cloaking despotic regimes with respectability and even equality, dampening anti-communist

actions, and discouraging the hopes of the captive peoples, the course taken is fundamentally a courageous challenge to the totalitarian regimes in Moscow, Peiping and elsewhere that in the period ahead will determine whether they are willing to work for world peace in a genuine sense, and all that this entails politically, culturally and economically, or they are tactically seizing this respite to shore up for future aggressions in Vietnam, Free China, Free Korea, the Mideast and elsewhere.

Now, how does the Captive Nations Week Resolution fit into this process. At a White House assembly last year the popular Miami radio commentator Alan Courtney raised this very question to Dr. Kissinger. The somewhat ambiguous response was: "We, of course, support the right of nations everywhere, including Eastern Europe, to determine their own fate. But obviously, circumstances have changed since the period when these resolutions were first introduced and when there was an expectation that there could be violent upheavals or peaceful changes of the government rapidly into a different form of government. I think a realistic expectation now has to be that while these governments may move in a more democratic direction over a period of time, the sort of transformation that was foreseen in the 50's, the violent transformation have failed disastrously in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. That sort of transformation is less likely under current conditions, not because of the policy of this Administration, but because of the way the international situation has generally evolved since the end of the war."⁸

From this one wonders whether Dr. Kissinger ever read the Captive Nations Week Resolution. For one, the resolution is not restricted to Eastern Europe inasmuch as the concept it embraces has accommodated a captive nations analysis that now applies poignantly to Vietnam and other Asian countries. Second, the resolution was never predicated on any exclusive expectation of violent upheaval or rapid, peaceful changes in the Red regimes. The contingency of mundane existence applies to governments and nations as it does to individuals, and the nature and tone of the resolution are equally compatible to violent overturns and evolutionary processes where they point to the expansion of freedom. A careful reading of the resolution will show that its two sole bases are a dedication to expansive global freedom and a fixed politico-moral commitment to one billion souls in eventual liberation and freedom. And on the point of changed conditions, except for a relatively weaker America because of our failures since World War II, the essential conditions of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism (as exemplified by the Brezhnev Doctrine) Communist Party totalitarianism, and Moscow's and Peiping's aggressive designs and paramilitary involvements have not substantially changed.

In short, the resolution is as applicable now as it was in the late 50's, and should the threshold be crossed in the period ahead, it and its genetic analysis would be more than ever impressive. The patent fact is that, contrary to the notions of Dr. Kissinger and others, there is no contradiction whatsoever between the contents of the resolution and the instrumentalist policy of the Administration. Many supporters of Captive Nations Week even go beyond the pragmatics of the Administration in advocating direct diplomatic relations with communist capitals in the various republics in the U.S.S.R.

For instance, it is clearly stated that "Detente does not mean the end of danger . . . Nothing would be more dangerous than to assume prematurely that dangers have disappeared."⁹ Another example, concerning the balance of power, the classical concept entailing "continual maneuvering for marginal

advantages over others" is plainly rejected as being "both unrealistic and dangerous" in the nuclear age. These and others are principled statements, but their real empirical tests are in the offing somewhere along the line of inevitable developments. Thus, practically speaking, should the President's leverage of bombing to enforce Hanoi's treaty commitments be eliminated by Congress and Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam become new captive nations, would this be construed as a marginal advantage redounding to the benefit of the communist enterprise?

Without in any substantial way undermining the principles of the resolution, the major thrust of Nixon's foreign policy is instrumentalist, concerned with means designed to structure more or less stable relationships allowing for peaceful intercourse and hopefully for the flow of historical processes leading to the realization of the more ultimate goals enunciated in the resolution. As many other elements, involved here is the old notion of peaceful evolution whereby the means, including economic interdependence, would somehow predetermine the ends sought. The fundamental question in such a calculus is just how far do you extend the means without sacrificing basic principles? So far our principles have not been tarnished in Southeast Asia, Free China and in the Mideast, but will we be able to uphold them when the real counter-challenges arise?

THE DOMINANT CHALLENGE OF MOSCOW'S TROIKA POLICY

Despite the current prattle on power multipolarity—with Western Europe desperate for the continuance of our armed presence there, Red China a massive underdeveloped state and Japan in the throes of anxious indecision—the chief enemy and danger to U.S. national interests is the USSR and its Russian-controlled base. Referring to this base, one European analyst stresses that "Ideological changes in Russia, resulting in Russian nationalism, are actually more dangerous to us than communism already is."¹⁰ Captive nations analysis has long emphasized the basic force of Soviet Russian imperio-colonialism, so well demonstrated by the captivity of non-Russian nations within the USSR and the Brezhnev doctrine without, and it is becoming increasingly ironical that the Maoist faction in Peiping now clings to a Russian social imperialism explanation which is only one step removed from our thesis.

Following traditional lines of imperialist Russian policy, which Marx himself noted a century ago, Moscow races its troika now as always before. The troika consists of (1) a steady, totalitarian and imperialist consolidation within its domain of power (2) a divide and subvert process directed at the West, especially the dismantling of NATO and (3) a progressive infiltration and undermining of the less developed areas of the world. Notable current expressions of this race of three abreast policy are its economic regionalization, widespread Russification in the non-Russian republics, mass arrests of Ukrainian, Russian and other intellectuals, and steady subservience of the economies and states of Central Europe; its diplomacy and extensive espionage, particularly through satellite embassies, in Western Europe and in the Americas, with the Brezhnev trips highlighting this part of the race; and its intense and deep involvements in the Mideast, the Indian Ocean, Cuba, Chile and elsewhere. Significantly, the recent Politburo promotions are catapults of expert jockeys for each horse of the troika: the head of the Russian KGB, Yuri Andropov, for the first; the skilled diplomat of deception, Andrei A. Gromyko, for the second; and Andrei A. Grechko, the defense minister concerned with the shipment of arms and stationing of Soviet forces, for the third.

When all the essential aspects of this firm

Footnotes at end of article.

and dynamic troika policy are carefully evaluated, the overriding question becomes one of "Who is challenging Whom?" At some cost, ideological differences may be set aside as a predeterminant of USSR-USA relations, but the means sought to realize immediate rather than ultimate goals of peace, involved proliferating negotiations, and vested interests in mutual restraint have been substantially and largely those advocated by Moscow itself since Krushchev's time and with the same troika bent and ultimate objective of prime global power. Long before misleading concepts of multipolarity and interdependency emerged, Moscow's troika was racing for peaceful coexistence, cultural exchanges, liberalized trade, an all-European security conference, reduction of forces in Europe and forms of disarmament and arms restrictions. The dominant problem in this hot politics of challenge and counter-challenge is that in contrast to totalitarian powers democracies are at some political disadvantage in their open vulnerability to damaging euphoria, political irrationality, subversion and other disarraying influences.

TRADE, THE NON-RUSSIAN PEOPLES AND A NEW ATLANTIC CHARTER

After reducing the current situation to the foregoing basic perspective and analysis, it should be evident that a very fundamental question exists as to how much Moscow will be permitted to gain in political, technological and economic benefits to strengthen and fortify both its empire reins and undoubted bid for global supremacy. Politically, guarantees for the territorial integrity of its empire, non-interference in its internal imperial affairs, and empirically unjustified equality cannot but have a negative effect on all the captive peoples yearning for freedom. As Senator Javits recently observed, "The heinous acts of the past and especially the repressions of the present—such as the suppression, arrest, and trial of Ukrainian intellectuals and the ransoming of Soviet Jews wishing to emigrate—cannot be overlooked in an overall 'bargain of convenience' with the Soviet Union. To do so would be a betrayal of ourselves and the freedom for which men and women have fought and suffered for centuries and which is the base of our own freedom."¹¹ The essence of this applies equally to similar cases among other captive peoples and nations.

In the hope of forging a material interdependence and thus a vested interest in both mutual advantage and restraint, the President has emphasized the point on linking "the expansion of economic relations with improved political relations."¹² Essentially what has come to be known as the poltrade advocacy, this was first elaborated in the mould of a captive nations analysis in 1965.¹³ The poltrade concept adjusts economic trade to political considerations and concessions. As the present, outstanding example, the price for our honorable ground withdrawal from Vietnam is Moscow's acquisition of much-needed grains and technology. The pressing question underlying continued trade with the USSR is how great a price will be caused to pay as Moscow bolsters its sagging economy at little comparative cost to its unrelenting military build-up and diverse intrigues and entanglements in every quarter of the Free World. It must be strongly emphasized that this is not our first experience in trade with the USSR, to which we contributed heavily in technology and know-how in the 20's and 30's. Also, to entertain the misleading notion of progressive economic interdependence suggests a grave misreading of the nature and structure of the USSR economy and its extensions in Central Europe.

With part of the Russian troika racing into Western Europe, designed for the dismantling of NATO, trade wars and currency crises, and deepened division among the democracies, there is now more than ever the need

for a new Atlantic Charter. But if it is to equal the theoretic quality and substance of the 1941 one, it, too, must give top and high expression to the right of all peoples to national self-determination and self-government. What broader field of hopeful application and relevancy could these top-priority points have than that in the captive nations from the Danube to the Pacific and into the Caribbean? What more pointed reference could such a new charter enjoy than in the direction of the numerous captive non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union itself? To stave off tragic results for American leadership, such a charter cannot avoid in any realistic sense the growing potentiality of new captive nations in Asia. Anything less than all this would produce only a second round of world cynicism and betrayal for those who cherish freedom on both sides of the still existing curtains.

FOOTNOTES

¹ "Chronology of Soviet Media Output" *Radio Liberty Dispatch*, July 26-August 1, 1972, New York, p. 1.

² Lev E. Dobriansky, *Do You Know the Captive Nations?*, Congressional Record reprint, USGPO, p. 1.

³ *United States Foreign Policy For The 1970's*, A Report by President Richard Nixon to the Congress, May 1973, p. 230.

⁴ George F. Kennan, *Memoirs*, 1950-1963, Vol. II, p. 99.

⁵ "Nixon, in S.C. Talk, Defends Viet Policy," *The Washington Post*, February 21, 1973, p. A15.

⁶ See "Asianization-Not Vietnamization—Is The Winning Concept," *Congressional Record*, July 15, 1970, pp. H6771-73.

⁷ "Soviet Hails Vietcong Leaders and Sees Ultimate Triumph of Their Cause," *The New York Times*, January 28, 1973.

⁸ *Briefing*, TV, Radio Anchormen and Featured Commentators, June 27, 1972.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 231.

¹⁰ Ferdinand O. Miskis, "Cold War or Hot Politics?" *East Europe Monographs*, College Park, Mo., 1972, p. 58.

¹¹ Senator Jacob K. Javits, Message to Rally on the 40th Anniversary of Stalin's Man-Made Famine in Ukraine. The Shevchenko Statue, Washington, D.C., May 26, 1973.

¹² *United States Foreign Policy For The 1970's*, p. 33.

¹³ See testimony on *East-West Trade*, Hearings, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Part II, pp. 94-104.

THE ENERGY PROBLEM

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, there has been much discussion lately about the energy problem. I recently received a letter from an Arkansas State Representative who makes certain comments and recommendations for the alleviating of the situation as it now exists. At this point in the RECORD, I would like to share his thoughts with my colleagues.

The letter follows:

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., May 17, 1973.

HON. BILL ALEXANDER,
U.S. Representative, House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BILL: The energy crisis is in Arkansas! We have been told by Gulf Oil Company that they don't think they will be able to supply us with the propane that we need for the year. This came as a shock to us. We always pay our gas bills within ten days and have been a branded Gulf dealer for over five years. We think that Gulf prizes our business, I honestly feel that at this time

they just don't have the gas. We have contacted several other gas companies and they all say they are not taking on additional customers.

Bill, I am writing you in the hope that Congress or the President will act on this matter immediately. If they don't we are going to have some cold homes, schools and churches in Arkansas this winter. The Federal Government needs to put the same priorities on LP Gas that is on natural gas. That is that the domestic user is satisfied before industry.

The problem started last fall when the Government would not let the major oil companies increase their prices. The smaller independent firms and industry came into the market and bid on the product at a higher price than the major companies were selling it for. As you can see, this caused many of the major companies to lose their production. Much of this bid production has gone into the industrial market rather than staying in the residential market.

Can not Congress help us in this by either saying all domestic users must have propane or establishing quotas on last winters purchasers.

We have tried to buy additional propane from every propane supplier that we could contact. They all say the same thing, they have no propane to sell at any price.

I think that the President's energy message allows some hope. I know that if the well head price of natural gas is increased this has to help. The Government should allow major oil companies to increase their prices so that they can bid on product as it becomes available.

I hope that you can do something to help the propane user and independent propane dealers in Arkansas.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

ERNEST CUNNINGHAM.

POSTAL SERVICE EFFICIENCY

HON. NORMAN F. LENT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, I noted with interest a recent letter to the editor of the Levittown Tribune, by Levittown Postmaster Paul Armstrong, Jr. Mr. Armstrong revealed the results of a nationwide survey of postal customers which indicated their views on postal service.

The survey revealed, for example, that 82 percent of mailers indicated that they felt that service was good to excellent and that a majority would prefer consistency to speed in delivery of mail—55 percent of those polled indicated that they made purchases as a result of advertisements received in the mail and that this percentage was much higher when the figures included magazine and catalog purchases. A great majority indicated that window service personnel were friendly and helpful.

Locally, Mr. Armstrong noted that a higher percentage of customers than the national average know their own ZIP code and use ZIP codes regularly. Nationwide, only about 9 of 10 people know their own ZIP code and about 88 percent use ZIP codes in their mailing.

I would like to bring Mr. Armstrong's letter to the attention of my colleagues and insert it in its entirety in the RECORD.

The letter follows:

MAYBE OUR POSTAL SERVICE ISN'T TOO BAD

DEAR EDITOR: A few weeks ago, the Levittown Tribune ran an article castigating the U.S. Postal Service.

It is felt that that article did not reflect the true opinion of the majority of the people. Substantiation of my statement is shown by the following Postal Service canvass.

The overwhelming majority of Americans feel that their mail service is good to excellent, according to a survey of public attitudes conducted by the prestigious Opinion Research Corp., and released April 26 by the Postal Service.

The study revealed that 85 percent of the over 10,000 householders interviewed believed that mail delivery service was good to excellent. About one customer in ten rated it as fair and about three out of a hundred called it poor.

Asked about service as senders of mail, 82 percent gave a positive rating of good to excellent, with 4 percent stating it was poor. 8 percent said the service was fair.

When asked whether they would prefer the quickest possible service (which sometimes failed) or a reliably consistent service, 56 percent of the householders indicated a preference for consistent service. 23 percent opted for the quickest possible service, 18 percent said it made no difference.

The study indicated a wide lack of knowledge of existing postal rates. Of the people surveyed, 36 percent did not know the airmail rate (11 cents); 74 percent did not know the charge for special delivery letter (60 cents); and 51 percent did not know the correct charge for a two ounce regular mail letter (16 cents).

There was substantial agreement that it was reasonable to be able to send a letter anywhere in the country for eight cents. Many householders said, however, that it was not reasonable to charge the same to send a letter across the country as it does to send one across the street.

The study revealed that a substantial majority of customers read at least some of their third-class mail. Four in ten can cite types of third-class mail that they especially like to receive: sales announcements, store advertisements, coupons, and catalogs. Fifty-five percent of the customers indicated they made purchases as a result of having received advertising mail: when magazine and catalog offered purchases are included, the figure goes up to 76 percent.

Airmail and airmail special delivery were seen as the fastest means of sending mail over a substantial distance, but there was found to be little demand from household customers for such speed. Many customers believe that regular mail is as fast as airmail. Most customers were not familiar with the white top collection boxes used by the Postal Service for airmail letters, not used in Levittown.

Window service clerks were found to be friendly and helpful by 70 percent of the people, with 5 percent feeling they were unfriendly.

The study confirmed the increasing mobility of the American public. Forty-one percent of respondents have moved in the past five years, many, more than one time. Little problem was cited with having mail forwarded among that 83 percent who notified the Postal Service that they were moving.

Only 9 in 10 people knew their correct Zip Code, confirming Postal Service findings that only about 88 percent of the population uses the Zip Code in mailing letters. Lack of a Zip Code is a contributing factor in the delay of mail.

Levittown's percentage of Zip Code users is substantially higher than the survey and very few of our customers don't know their Zip Codes.

Maybe our Postal Service isn't too bad after all.

PAUL ARMSTRONG, Jr.,
Postmaster, Levittown P.O.

RESOLUTION ON CONSOLIDATION OF FEDERAL RADIATION AGENCIES**HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed resolution of the Missouri Conference of Radiation Control Program Directors, is respectfully directed to the attention of Congress, executive and administrative officials for consideration of consolidation of Federal radiation agencies:

RESOLUTION No. 3

Whereas the responsibility for the protection of the public and worker from exposure to radiation has been significantly fragmented at the Federal level; and

Whereas this fragmentation of responsibility is divided among the Atomic Energy Commission, the Food and Drug Administration, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Labor, the Office of Emergency Preparedness; and

Whereas this fragmentation if further exhibited between regional offices and headquarters offices with certain of these Federal agencies; and

Whereas this fragmentation results in duplication, inefficiency, contradictions, and complexities in communication: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Conference of Radiation Control Program Directors, urge the Congress of the United States to consider this serious problem of fragmentation and take the necessary legislative action to consolidate the various Federal responsibilities relating to radiation protection of the public and worker within one agency.

THE BOSTON TEA PARTY**HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, December 16, 1773, will mark the 200th anniversary of what historians consider one of the most fateful days in all American history.

"The boldest stroke which had yet been struck in America," it is called. The dispute between the Colonies and England erupted into violence, when 342 chests of tea were seized from three ships and dumped into Boston harbor. The events that took place in 3 hours on that cold December night—known to posterity as The Boston Tea Party—started a chain reaction that led, almost without interruption, straight to the Declaration of Independence.

In the Amoy dialect of China, it was called t'e, or "tay." In Cantonese, it was ch'a, or "chah." The English tea—first pronounced "tay" and later "tee"—was derived from the Dutch, who brought the word to Europe through Java. Tea does not appear in any publication in English before the latter half of the 17th century.

The first newspaper ad for tea was in Mercurius Politicus, in London, in 1658:

That excellent and by all Physicians approved China drink, called by the Chinese Teha, by other nations, Tay, alias Tee, is

sold at the Sultaneess Head Cophee House in Sweetings Rents, by the Royal Exchange, London.

Samuel Pepys had his first cup of tea in 1660 and found the event important enough to enter in his famous diary:

I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I never had drank before.

By 1757 it had become an institution in England; Samuel Johnson described himself that year as:

A hardened and shameless Tea-drinker, who has for twenty years diluted his meals with only the infusion of this fascinating plant; whose kettle has scarcely time to cool, who with Tea amuses the evening, with Tea solaces the midnight, and with Tea welcomes the morning.

The first Europeans to drink tea were probably the Portuguese. There was no regular import into Europe until 1610, when the Dutch East India Co. sent in a shipment. For half a century the Dutch had the trade to themselves. Then, in 1667, the English East India Co.—John Co., as it was known—started on the road that led it to be the world's greatest tea monopoly. By 1687 John Co. was in the business for all it could get. The Dutch got their tea from Chinese junks that sailed to Batavia. John Co. outflanked them, and cut their costs, by going straight to Canton.

About one-third of Chinese export for the tea trade was green tea, from Chekiang and Anhwei Provinces. The best of all was green Hyson, made from the first gathering of the tenderest leaves. The second-best was Singlo, which leaves were picked two or three times a year.

Most of the tea that went into Europe during the 18th century was black, from the Bohea mountains in Fukien Province. The best of the black teas, Souchong, came from the first gatherings. Congo tea was less choice. The most common and plentiful that went to Europe in the 18th century was Bohea—dusty, hastily cured and packed—but cheap enough that almost anyone could enjoy it.

John Co.'s profits soared. By 1770 it was selling 4 million pounds of tea annually at a 500-percent markup from the price paid the Chinese. Even after shipping and other costs were deducted, the profits were handsome. But there was a problem.

The British Government saw the tea trade as a prime source of revenue. Duty was added on duty until the inevitable happened: tea smuggling, from the Continent. Literally hundreds of Englishmen went to France, Holland and Scandinavia, loaded up with tea, and ran their cargoes into isolated coves and harbors all up and down England's eastern coast. By the 1770's, Englishmen were consuming 13,000,000 pounds of tea a year. One authority estimated a staggering 7,500,000 pounds of this were smuggled.

Tea-drinking in America got off to a slow start, but by the 1760's consumption was over 1 million pounds a year. After 1720 colonists could import it only from England—legally—but probably less than one quarter of total consumption came in that way. The rest was smuggled, primarily from Holland.

Smuggling was common knowledge. In 1757 John Kidd of Philadelphia told his London associates that around 400 chests of tea had come into Philadelphia the

previous 2 years. Sixteen of these were legal imports.

John Co. was aware of this. In 1767 Parliament acted. Legislation cut duties on tea and finally an American importer could buy tea in London for the same price as smuggled tea from Holland, without running any risk of breaking the law. For awhile, legal imports soared. Then Parliament passed another law late in June of 1767 which wrecked it all. The Townshend Act put a duty of three pence per pound on all tea imported into the colonies, along with duties on glass, paper, lead and painter's colors. It was the last of various attempts by Parliament to raise revenue from the colonies, and for England it was disastrous.

Protests against the Townshend Act combined with a general feeling that the colonists should be more frugal. After all, there were depressed times and a shortage of money. English tea was a natural target. It was the most common article taxed by the law and the patriots of America exhorted their countrymen to give it up. In its place, they proposed Labradore tea, known also as Hyperion, made from the red-root bush found in abundance in swamps along most New England Rivers.

Taste was questionable. However, one Englishman, trying a sample, said it had "a very physical taste." The Americans running the antitea campaign argued, however, that Labradore tea was safe to drink, whereas English Bohea caused almost every ailment known to man, ranging from stomach upsets to nervous disorders.

A general movement against importation of foreign goods began, and tea was the prime target. The antitea campaign picked up steam; if Americans drank dutied tea, then the whole cause of non-importation was bound to failure. The duty was only 3 pence per pound, but if Americans felt Parliament could put on this tax, then what was there to keep Parliament from raising it? One writer:

Can the spirit of man submit to the insolence of a crew of little dirty tyrants? Let us abjure the poisonous baneful plant and its odious infusion—poisonous and odious, I mean, not on account of its physical qualities but on account of the political diseases and death that are connected with every particle of it.

Another, signing himself a countryman, began by recounting the tale of a family he knew that ate so much butter with their tea biscuits that there was not any left over for market. As for his own family, well:

There is my daughters Jemma and Keziah, two hearty trollops as any in town, forenoon and afternoon eat almost a peck of toast with their tea, and they have learned me and their mother to join them, and as for Jeremiah, he can hardly live without it, a booby.

It did not last. During 1769 one colonist wrote to his English friend:

As to our people's quitting the use of tea, it is really a joke. It would be full as reasonable to imagine they will cease to drink New England Rum or Cyder.

The worst offender against the anti-tea movement was—Boston. There was good reason for this. The rest of the colonies depended primarily on smuggled tea. They could piously refuse English tea,

and the tax thereon, while still enjoying it from their prime source of supply. Boston had no such way out.

In April 1769 some American sympathizers in Parliament moved that the Townshend Act be repealed. In February 1770 English merchants active in colonial trade petitioned Parliament in support of repeal, citing the damage it was doing to their business. Total abolition failed. The tax on tea remained; it was a good source of revenue, and also it would remind the colonists that there was a right of the Crown to tax them.

By 1773 smuggling had almost become a way of life for a good many colonial merchants—a minority, but still quite a few. It was, to be blunt about it, more profitable. In 1769 one writer even went so far as to say that repeal of the tea tax would have made no difference in smuggling. Tea from Holland was cheaper; also, there were better markets in Holland for American exports.

Parliament began to get tougher in cracking down. This moved smuggling from the merely profitable to the patriotic. After all, was it not another part of the fight for freedom? There was little resembling law and order along American waterfronts in 1773, and some were ready and waiting to use the situation to force a showdown. It was not long in coming.

Not only did the tea duty remain, but on May 10, 1773, Parliament drove in the final nail. The Tea Act of that date was aimed at helping John Co. get out of financial trouble. It lifted duty on tea entering England, and let John Co. be its own exporter to the colonies, eliminating middlemen. It actually removed one duty—and if enforced John Co. could have undersold the smugglers, meaning cheaper tea for the colonies.

Not until early October did the colonists really get a clear picture of what was coming. Opposition was on two themes: First, give in to a tax on tea and other taxes will follow; second, John Co. was getting a monopoly on one item; how long before it monopolized all the colonies' foreign commerce?

On October 7, 1773, the first handbills of protest appeared in New York. Eleven days later, on October 18, the winds shifted at Deal, on the English Channel. The ships *Dartmouth*, *Eleanor*, *Beaver* and *William* headed for Boston; *London* had papers for Charleston; *Polly* was destined for Philadelphia, and *Nancy* was almost ready to leave for New York.

The northwest wind was what they had been waiting for. One by one, holds full of tea, they headed out into the Atlantic.

They began to arrive in the colonies in December. At Charleston, the tea was unloaded, but put into a damp warehouse, under bond, where it rotted. At Philadelphia and New York, the masters of the ships, sensing the temper of the times, thought better of it and turned back. For Boston, it was to be a different matter. Nettled by a remark heard by Josiah Quincy in the South, that "Bostonians are better at resolving what to do than doing what they resolved," they felt they could make a better accounting.

John Adams' wife Abigail wrote to her friend Mercy Otis Warren on December

5, 1773; prodigious letterwriter that she was, there had been a sad neglect of the spellingbook somewhere along the way:

The Tea that bairnful Weed is arrived. Great and I hope Effectual opposition has been made to the landing of it. To the publick papers I must refer you for particulars. You will there find that the proceedings of our Citizens have been United, Spirited and firm. The flame is kindled and like Lightning it catches from Soul to Soul. Great will be the devastation if not timely quenched or allayed by some more Lenient Measures.

Altho the mind is shocked at the Thought of sheding Humane Blood, more Especially the Blood of our Countrymen, and a civil War is of all Wars, the most dreadful Such is the present Spirit that prevails, that if once they are made desperate Many, very Many of our Heroes will spend their lives in the cause, With the Speech of Cato in their Mouths, "What a pity it is, that we can dye but once to save our Country."

If the Bostonians were determined to do something more spectacular than merely turning ships back or letting it land and then rot, there was also the other side of the quarrel being just as stubborn.

For one thing, Thomas Hutchinson, the Royal Governor, differed from his contemporaries; he supported the plans of John Co., where some Governors did not. He had good reason: Two of his sons were agents of the company, and one was married to the daughter of one of Boston's leading tea importers, who stood to get a large share of the consignment now on the way.

Hutchinson thought he had enough troops, warships and other support in Boston to handle any trouble. There was also the matter of his past relationship with the patriots. His house had been plundered during the Stamp Act crisis. While he was lieutenant-governor, Sam Adams and others had constantly pestered and harassed him. Not too long ago some of his private correspondence had been stolen and published, in an attempt to smear him. And the general court had just petitioned the privy council in London to impeach him and get him out of Boston.

Hutchinson had been under fire almost constantly since 1765 and his request for a leave of absence had been granted, much to his relief. But he did not want to make it look as if he were running away and quitting under fire.

Bostonian moods were turning ugly. The main target of attacks, all verbal, were the men to whom the tea was consigned. In early November it erupted. On Wednesday, November 3, around 500 persons collected around the Liberty Tree, on summons of the town crier and church bells. Sam Adams, Joseph Warren, John Hancock, the Boston selectmen and other patriot leaders attended, but the consignees did not, although they had been requested to do so.

A delegation headed out to find them and tell them their refusal was an affront and they should resign. Found conferring in Clarke's store, they yelled through an open door that they would not honor the requests of an illegal mob.

The mob began to break up, when, suddenly, some of them spun around, stormed the building, wrenching doors off their hinges, and broke in, throwing

stones and mud. The consignees took refuge on the second floor, in the counting-room, and the door there was too stout to break down. After milling about an hour or so, the mob broke up. It was the first time a mob had arisen, and the precedent was grim.

The first tea-ship—*Dartmouth*—arrived in Boston Harbor on Sunday, November 28. Boston was determined the tea would not be landed, and it would be sent back to England. But it was not that easy. Tea, once exported, could not be returned or it would be confiscated. Storage in a government warehouse in Boston was turned down. After all, Governor Hutchinson or the customs officers might well turn it over to the consignees. The tea supply in Boston was already running low and the price was rising. John Co.'s cheap Bohea would almost certainly find a market.

The ship *Eleanor* came in on December 2; she tied up at Griffin's Wharf, alongside *Dartmouth*. *Beaver* arrived off Boston on December 7 but had to wait outside the port, as there was smallpox aboard and an intensive cleaning-up process was necessary. On December 15 *Beaver* came in, too. The fourth, *William*, had wrecked off Cape Cod but the cargo of tea was salvaged.

The maneuvering of the next few days was complicated, but it boiled down to basically one issue: the demands of the Bostonians that the ships be cleared and sent back, and Governor Hutchinson's refusal to do so. There were involved rules concerning customs and the like, Hutchinson was in no mood to make any sort of compromise.

On December 16 he flatly refused to give *Dartmouth* a pass so she could sail. The ship had not been properly cleared by the customs officials, and allowing it to sail would mean a violation of the acts of trade.

The *Dartmouth's* owner, Rotch, had honestly worked with the patriotic faction in an effort to find some way out of the mess. He himself appeared at the mass meeting that evening to tell them the pass was refused. When asked if he would order his ship back anyway, he said he could not; it would mean his financial ruin. Well, then, did he plan to unload the tea? Only if the authorities ordered him to, he replied, and then only to protect himself.

At this point, Sam Adams arose. He said:

This meeting can do nothing more to save the country.

Historians think this may possibly have been a prearranged signal. At any rate, there was a war-whoop from the gallery, answered by a group at the doorway already in Indian costume. In later years witnesses remembered some of the shouts that arose: "Boston Harbor a tea-pot tonight!" "Hurrah for Griffin's Wharf!" "The Mohawks are come!" "Every man to his tent!"

Three blocks away, a merchant, John Andrews, was quietly sipping a cup of tea, and the racket startled him. He headed down the street but could not get through the crowd. Just then the meeting broke up and as the meeting hall emptied the din rose to a pitch. "You'd have thought

that the inhabitants of the infernal regions had broken loose," Andrews recalled later. He headed home to finish his tea. The crowd headed for the harbor.

Who really went aboard the ships still remains, by and large, a mystery. John Adams was to write, 50 years later, that he did not know the name of one single person. There was considerable secrecy as to identity—naturally—and that also led to a large number of claims as participants by those who may not have really been there after all. One list was supplied by an alleged participant when he was 93; another when the man was 113.

Armed bands drawn from various patriotic groups had been guarding the ships to prevent their being unloaded. Some were from John Hancock's Corps of Cadets and Hancock himself had carried out a brief inspection tour on one of the vessels in early December. There were Masons; a lodge meeting scheduled for that evening, December 16, adjourned at once "on account of the few members in attendance." However, most "Indians" were members of the Sons of Liberty. Some, it seems, did not know about plans to destroy the tea. They came along for a variety of reasons—sincere patriotism or excitement.

At any rate, they began to assemble along the Boston waterfront. Small groups of men, with semblances of Indian disguises, led the way. Why they took this costume, and why they called themselves Mohawks, is still unclear. Paul Revere was among them. Sam Adams, John Hancock, and Joseph Warren, though, did not go aboard the ships. Their work was done; they had set it all in motion.

And someone had done a lot of planning. The next day, merchant Henry Broomfield observed that:

People of sense and more discernment than the vulgar (must have been) among the Actors.

A rain had stopped; the moon was up and some people brought out lanterns. Many of the "Indians" had hatchets. There were somewhere between 30 and 60 men, all together, and divided into three groups, each with a leader.

Two groups went on *Dartmouth* and *Eleanor*, tied up at the wharf. *Beaver*, anchored off the wharf, was pulled alongside. Customs officers on the vessels were shoved aside. Block and tackle was wrapped around the chests, they were pulled up on deck, there broken open, and the tea shoveled over the rail.

This was a time of low tide, and the water was only 2 or 3 feet deep. Before long the tea piled up to where it almost spilled back into the ships.

A large crowd watched from the wharf, the only sound over all being the constant whack-whack-whack of hatchets as the chests were broken apart. It only took 3 hours; by 9 o'clock, it was all over.

There had never been a move by governmental authorities to interrupt. A regiment of troops was in Boston; they were not called. A squadron of warships was at anchor in the harbor, a few hundred yards away. Their commander, Admiral Montagu, saw the whole business from a house at the foot of the wharf.

The next day he wrote a report, and noted in it:

I could easily have prevented the Execution of this Plan but must have endangered the Lives of many innocent People by firing upon the Town.

By tradition, Admiral Montagu called to the crowd from a window after they had finished and proceeded to march away:

Well, boys, you've had a fine, pleasant evening for your Indian caper, haven't you? But mind you have got to pay the fiddler yet!

To this, a man named Pitts responded:

Oh, never mind! never mind, squire! just come out here, if you please, and we'll settle the bill in two minutes.

The crowd yelled; a fifer, along for the evening, blew away on his fife and the procession moved on.

The "Indians" took great pains to make sure no one took any tea away with them. One, Charles O'Connor, was found filling his pockets and the lining of his clothes with it, while helping throw broken chests overboard. He was stripped naked on the spot, and kicked off the ship.

A few days later another man was found in South Boston, with an entire chest of tea that he had carried away. He had sold some. He was forced to give up the money, then, the crowd, taking what was left, made a bonfire out of it in front of John Hancock's home.

The next morning John Adams sat down to write in his diary:

Last Night 3 Cargoes of Bohea Tea were emptied into the Sea. This morning a Man of War sails.

This is the most magnificent Movement of all. There is a Dignity, a Majesty, a Sublimity, in this last Effort of the Patriots, that I greatly admire. The People should never rise, without doing something to be remembered—something notable. And striking. This Destruction of the Tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid and inflexible, and it must have so important Consequences, and so lasting, that I cant but consider it as an Epocha in History.

Which it was.

COMBAT CREWS PRAISE F-111 AS "ONE SMART AIRPLANE"

HON. JIM WRIGHT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. WRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, for almost a decade, the Air Force F-111 aircraft, built by General Dynamics Corp. in Fort Worth, has been a favorite whipping boy for critics.

The F-111 has been held up by its critics, not all of whom were competent to judge, as a technical failure with a grisly crash record—the latter allegation despite the fact that the F-111's record has proved it safer than any other high-performance fighter during both development and testing cycles.

The proof of any weapon system lies in the test of combat. In September 1972, the 474th Tactical Fighter Wing, which is

equipped with F-111's, was sent to Southeast Asia. From that time until the cease-fire was negotiated in January 1973, the wing's F-111's flew nearly 3,500 sorties—most of them at night, in bad weather, and at very low altitudes. Many of these flights were into the most heavily defended areas in the history of aerial warfare—to targets in and around Hanoi and Haiphong.

In this very difficult combat environment, the F-111's successfully completed missions, day after day, that could not have been flown by any other aircraft in the world. Their bombing effectiveness was better than any other aircraft in Southeast Asia, and their combat loss ratio by far the lowest. This extraordinary record is virtually unknown to the public, since little of it was reported—except for the 6 losses in 3,500 sorties.

During the height of the F-111's combat action in Southeast Asia, Wayne Thomis, then aviation editor of the Chicago Tribune, went to Thailand to observe F-111 operations and talk with the crews. His report on the superlative performance of the F-111 appears in the June issue of Air Force magazine. I commend it to all who would make an objective appraisal of the value of this unique aircraft, and ask that it be entered into the RECORD:

WHISPERING DEATH: THE F-111 IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

(By Wayne Thomis)

When the 474th Tactical Fighter Wing brought its swingwing F-111A twin jets to Takhli Air Base 130 miles north of Bangkok, Thailand, last September, a Seventh Air Force operations officer, part of the teams controlling air combat over Southeast Asia, asked:

"Do you people have smart bombs?"

The reply, verging on the flippant, was: "No, but we've got smart airplanes."

And the 474th proved its claim. The F-111s, flown by two squadrons (the 429th and 430th) of gung ho aircrews and maintained by dedicated, hard-working maintenance people "cut a new groove" in aerial fighting. They demonstrated in the crucible of battle—final test of any weapon or military theory—that the low-level, high-speed penetration of even the most sophisticated defenses is the right way to go.

The Vietnam performance of the 474 TFW's forty-eight aircraft speaks for itself. Here is a brief summary of these operations:

Sorties flown: Approaching 3,500 at the time of cease-fire.

Bombing effectiveness: Rated by Seventh Air Force analysts as very close to accuracies achieved by the guided bombs (smart bombs). In the case of the 474th, targets were not hit by single bomb drops, but rather by salvos of twelve to sixteen iron bombs on each sortie. At the end of the fighting, strike planners were sending single F-111s to hit an airfield, attack a SAM site, or a railroad yard—with the certainty that the target would be hit by that single-plane mission, flown at night, in bad weather, against the toughest ground defenses in the history of air warfare. Never, before the guided bombs or the F-111s, could single-plane missions be launched with foreknowledge that the strike would be effective.

Mission aborts: Less than one percent. No other equipment in the inventory had a lower abort rate, even though the F-111s were in their first full-scale combat assignment. Weather scrubbed missions only once, according to wing operations records, and that at the height of the year's worst monsoon rains.

Plane losses: An astonishingly low total of only six. This represents a combat loss ratio of one-sixth of one percent of the aircraft exposed to enemy fire. No other units engaged in Southeast Asia (F-4s, A-7s, B-52s, A-6s) proved so survivable—a fact apparently overlooked by correspondents who reported the final days of the air war, which intensified right up to the cease-fire.

"We certainly expected more losses," reported the F-111 crews who were rotated back to the 474th Wing home base at Nellis AFB, Nev., in late January.

TFR: MAKING BELIEVERS

"We gradually gained great confidence in our planes, our navigation and bombing equipment, and that fantastic, really unbelievable TFR (terrain-following radar). All this special electronics enabled us to go in at very low altitudes. We went on mission after mission (crews average forty-five to fifty-three sorties) without taking a hit," an aircrew member of the 429th told this writer.

"By actual count, there were less than ten hits taken by 474th aircraft up to the time we left about January 20. We know that one of the planes that didn't return took SAM hits. The crew so reported as they punched out. Those boys are coming home as prisoners—their names are on published lists—so we'll get the full account later.

"There was only one precautionary landing away from Takhli because of damage. That was at Udorn in north Thailand. Inspection on the ground showed half a dozen small holes near the tail. The skin inspection plates were opened up and routes of the flak traced. Fortunately the shrapnel cut no lines and the plane was flown to Takhli with only tape across the entry holes."

Do not assume however that the F-111 crews took combat lightly. Moments of terror, hours of sober consideration of tactics and flight planning long hours of energy-absorbing concentration while flights were in progress are acknowledged by all. Penetrations of the Hanoi/Haiphong defenses and the Red River delta with its SAMs and AAA demanded the highest sort of courage and self-control.

"We were always nervous no matter where we were targeted because flying as low as we did and as fast is inherently dangerous.

"You are only a quarter of a second—at 500 miles an hour—from hitting the ground if anything goes wrong," explained Lt. Steve Glass, Weapons Systems Officer.

"Think about flying around in daylight and good weather only 200 feet above the ground and going up and down over hills and into valleys, keeping this height," said Capt. Jackie Crouch, former F-105 pilot with two earlier SEA tours.

"Now do this at night, in mountains and in heavy cloud when you can't see anything outside the cockpit. That is really, really exciting, even without the enemy threat.

"It takes real discipline to come up over these mountains, as we did at night, out on top of the cloud layer in the moonlight. We'd see those jagged peaks all round us poking through the cloud tops, and we'd have to put the nose down back into that mist. And as we went down, the moonlight would fade, and the cloud get darker, and we'd know we were descending below those peaks and were depending on our radars and our autopilots—and with Hanoi coming up. . . .

"I won't say that I wasn't worried.

"One night when the weather was very bad, I was in cloud for the last eleven minutes before bombs away—and that means at the lowest levels of the whole flight, going up and down hills and keeping our clearance still at 200 to 250 feet above these obstructions.

"We didn't see a thing outside the cockpit, not even after the bombs left us. For me, this thing was really remarkable. Even now I can't explain how fantastic it was, what extraordinary instrumentation we have, what

systems—I find it hard to comprehend even now.

"The confidence I gained in the airplane—it made a believer out of me. I'll tell anyone in the Air Force that, given a choice on a night strike of going in high or going in low, I'll go in low every time. And I'll go anywhere in the F-111."

The crews had the highest possible praise for their TFRs—the terrain-following radar that electronically observes their height above ground and directs the autopilot during final phases of all strike missions. The crews could pick the height they wanted to maintain above obstructions, and the TFR plus the autopilot provided the control inputs to give it to them, regardless of hills, mountains, trees, valleys, or other ground irregularities.

Confident though they were, the crews are overwhelmingly aware of the proximity of the ground during bombing runs. An indication of this is a notice they posted on the bulletin board in the Takhli officers' club. It said:

"Effectiveness of SAMs is less than fifteen percent for all firings.

"Effectiveness of Triple A is less than five percent, day or night.

"But—Effectiveness of the ground remains 100 percent. Don't let it hit you."

HEADLINES THE HARD WAY

The 474th was a bit shaken when one of the first two planes launched, within three hours after the long ferry flight from Nevada, failed to return. Its fate and that of its crew remain a mystery even today. In the weeks of combat that followed, five other F-111s also were lost. Of these, four were 430th aircraft, and two were from the 429th. The sixth and last was hit by ground fire over Hanoi. The crew was able to make a radio report before they punched out in the capsule. Both men made it safely to the ground, but were captured.

During the first weeks of combat, the F-111 crews maintained radio silence following takeoff as a security measure. This contributed to the mystery of the early losses. Investigators had no clues, or virtually none, on which to base investigations. By early November, Seventh Air Force changed the rules. Pilots had to make a brief radio check at course change points to high-flying radio-relay planes. "We've got to have some line on the F-111s," headquarters said.

"But this wasn't everything they'd hoped for," Captain Crouch said. "We were expected to make those calls when we were busiest. I got so I just let them go, once I was down low in final stages of a strike."

Maj. Carlos Higgins, another F-111 left-seater with the 429th, said: "Once you were low, you had to monitor everything; you had to be thinking and looking—by radar—as far ahead as possible so you would know what the terrain was like, and you had to count on this information from your right-seat man whose radar is better than the small vertical indicator scope on the pilot side. You count on your right-seat man to keep giving you word on obstructions so you could be sure the autopilot was obeying the TFR."

"But, if you missed making a position report by five minutes, they would call you. Often I'd come back with, 'Jumbo Two Four, still alive,' and let it go at that."

F-111 crews never could understand why Seventh Air Force and PACAF Headquarters got so excited over F-111 combat losses. Other types of plane were lost daily, inevitably, in the hazards of a bitter war. Such plane and crew casualties were routinely reported and routinely accepted. But not so with the F-111s. Captain Crouch voiced the 429th attitude:

"We never could figure why the generals went straight up when an F-111 failed to return. Navy could lose an A-6, which was just as expensive and almost as sophisticated in

navigation, radar, and bomb delivery as we are, yet nothing was said.

"The same attitudes were evident when Air Force or Navy F-4s went down, almost every day. Even with the B-52s, when they began hitting Hanoi—those shoot-downs were more or less accepted. But let an F-111 be lost and everybody seemed to go right through the roof. It wasn't realistic."

"Certainly we ourselves had expected to lose more than we did," said Capt. Paul Sperry, right-seater for Major Higgins.

"Look how the airplane performed in battle," Major Higgins said. "We couldn't understand all the bad publicity it received during development. But once in battle, its performance was ignored, or the publicity referred only to losses. The F-111 played a major role in the resumed bombing pressures on Hanoi and did great work that was never acknowledged."

CLOSE, BUT NO CIGAR

The North Vietnamese, the Major said, respected the F111s. They called the plane "Whispering Death" in propaganda broadcasts. This, the 429th crews agreed, is a good description of the only warning sounds of an F-111 in a high-speed, very-low-level bombing approach.

"This kind of a name indicates the surprise with which we hit them," he said. "When we bombed in bad weather or rain, we wondered whether they could hear us in advance at all. They must have been surprised when the bombs flashed on impact in downpours, as they often did. We thought the bomb flashes were often the first clue—other than their radar—of where we were."

North Vietnamese radar coverage was "unbelievable," all agreed. "There was no such thing as coming in under it in the Red River delta," Major Higgins said. "The place is so small, so heavily defended, so flat, that they are looking in all directions for attacks all the time."

"Once you came skimming over the mountains [crews called their ground-hugging tactics "skimming"], you found yourself within their radar energy outputs. There was no escaping this," he continued.

"Of course, we never were sure what return they were getting—whether they actually could track us against the ground. Our onboard countermeasures equipment told us they were looking. But ground fire—triple A—seemed to be rather indiscriminate. Once there was firing along your track, the guns ahead would shoot straight up with everything available, hoping, we thought, that we would fly into the barrage."

"We were all surprised how readily and repeatedly we went in and came out despite the defenses, the knowledge by the ground crews that we were coming back night after night, the certainty of the targets we would hit. And those gunners—they've had more practice in the last five years than any gun or missile crews in history."

"You must remember that Hanoi/Hai-phong is a little bitty place—it only took us five to six minutes to fly across it," said Captain Crouch. "With all that lead we saw floating around, we expected hits, but we kept coming back without a scratch. Lots of it came so close we could hear the supersonic 'whack' as it went by."

"One night, five rounds went by so close we felt the passage and heard it," said Lieutenant Glass. "We thought we'd been hit. But we looked over the panel and nothing flickered. When we got home, inspection turned up nothing."

The 474th crews saw some "really unusual sights," they said, during their dusk-to-dawn sorties. SAMs are "very visible," the fireball at the tail being easily followed from the moment of ignition on launching rails "until they go by you." As for triple A—it comes in all colors, sizes, and trajectories, and at night "really catches your eye as it surrounds you."

ZAPPING THE SAMs

"SAM gunners tried for us," said Captain Crouch. "Their equipment let them guide the SAMs—if their radar could track us. They tried often enough. The hits we did take usually were SAM shrapnel."

The 474th had a special feeling for SAMs, anyhow. They were turned loose by Seventh Air Force to attack SAM sites on December 21. They recall that, during the nights of the eighteenth through the twentieth of December, Air Force electronic countermeasures planes and crews flying high above the battle reported eighty to 120 SAM firings, mostly at the B-52s operating at 28,000- to 35,000-foot levels. The Air Force count on expenditure of SAMs in this period, by day and night, totaled 600 firings.

"On those nights, we saw plenty of SAM fireballs," said Lieutenant Glass. "After 'bombs away,' I looked back once and saw four rising together, a salvo. And over the common radio frequency we all monitored, the countermeasures watch never stopped talking, reporting SAM tracks. I heard him call at least fifty before we were out of range."

"The North had accumulated quite a stockpile before December," Captain Crouch said. "Their radars were peaked up, and triple A had plenty of ammo. They'd not been using it while we kept the bombing below the twentieth parallel."

"When we came back to renew the Hanoi assault, they were ready. Hits on the B-52s and others were sufficiently damaging that Seventh Air Force sent us against the SAM sites after the third night. And a SAM site, usually a big star with launchers at the points and radar and control trailers at the center, is a good target for us."

"If you'd like a good figure for comparison, after we went to work," interjected Captain Sperry, "the firings dropped way down immediately. We got counts of eighty to 120 firings during each of the early nights; they dropped to twenty-eight on December 21, and to eighteen on December 22."

"There were nights after that," concluded Captain Crouch, "when not a single SAM was fired."

FASTER THAN LIGHTS OUT

"I think we convinced Seventh Air Force of our accuracy and our value after those four tough days."

The two squadrons never will forget other experiences during that bombing renewal. Maj. Jack Funke, Captain Crouch, and Major Higgins recall vividly the earliest sorties flown the night of December 18.

"The delta weather was way down, ceiling 200 feet or thereabouts, and cloud piled up to 28,000 feet," Lieutenant Glass remembered. "Talking it over later, we agreed the North Vietnamese, who long ago had turned the clock around, working at night and resting by day because of the day attacks never expected anybody to hit them in such weather conditions."

"We came skimming down the mountains and plunged out into the open under the lower edge of the overcast, and it seemed to us the entire Hanoi valley was lighted up like Las Vegas," said Captain Crouch. "Hanoi was bright with neon and street lights, and the port was aglow in the distance. On the roads leading out of town and on the mountain switchbacks to the south, truck headlights were blazing like strings of pearls."

"We happened to arrive about ten minutes to eight in the evening, Hanoi time," said Lieutenant Glass. "We were coming so fast, we were almost on release point before any of those lights started going out. Sections of the town blacked out one at a time, and we knew sirens were screaming and somebody down there was pulling master switches, even as the bombs left us."

Captain Crouch and his rightseater, on December 19, in very poor weather, had the unusual experience of bombing Yen Bai air-

field while the runway lights were still on.

"The field is one of Hanoi's fighter defense bases," he recalled in a slow drawl. "At 300 feet we were running in and out of ragged mist, but five miles out I could see the runway lights. I couldn't believe it."

"Geary's steering directions from our equipment pointed right at them, though. I thought either they decided nobody could go bombing in this weather and were working on the lights, or they had some MIGs out and were trying to recover them. Either way, I thought, it's fine for us."

"Still, we bombed on our own radar. Looking down, after bomb release, I saw the runway and some blobs of building near it. No planes; they keep their fighters at the ends of five-mile taxiways, or taxi-tracks, and operations must be buried somewhere nearby."

The night attacks served to keep Hanoi's technical-warfare people on twenty-four-hour alert and contributed to a general fatigue factor that could have had great importance in breaking down the defenses. The defenses had "failed," in the view of the 474th crews, as bombing was resumed on December 26, following a thirty-six-hour Christmas pause at President Nixon's order.

CONCLUSION: ONE SMART AIRPLANE

The F-111 is demanding of its pilots; all low-level operations are energy-draining. Men and equipment are cranked to peak performance in these phases, matched by no other combat airplanes, the crews said.

"You are really busy, monitoring everything, once you get well into a mission," said Major Higgins. "Things are happening so fast that you have to stay well ahead, just to keep up. Chances are the equipment is so good it would get you where you want to go, if you just sat back. But nobody can do that once in a combat area."

"Our F-111s are not fighters—they're bombers. Demanding as it is, the airplane will deliver an attack in weather and against defenses that are the very best the enemy has shown at any time. And do it over and over again. It's got capabilities no other aircraft in the inventory can match."

The crews agreed: "We always planned our missions so we could bomb manually and make a return to base without our computer, more or less by dead reckoning. But we never did either of these things. That speaks for the equipment reliability."

This writer was told by Seventh Air Force operations officers that the F-111 had "really come out smelling like a rose." They said earlier doubts based on its rather unsuccessful 1967 appearance in Southeast Asia—long before the developmental period was concluded—and upon a somewhat cool attitude toward F-111s held by Pentagon brass "were completely dispelled."

"It's a great airplane, and it does a job like nothing else can in darkness and bad weather," I was told. "We had crews from Strategic Air Command out here seeing how the TAC outfit flew. We had TAC F-111 crews from England, and from the US-based F-111 outfits. And we had more than our share of congressmen and senators from Washington to observe the F-111 in battle."

"They saw the birds going out of Takli, one by one—the crews briefed, flight planned, rested, rebriefed on weather and the strike areas, and then sent off on their solitary missions. Some two and a half hours later when our men and their birds were back, the observers had the chance at the club to sit and talk to the people who had been over Hanoi that night."

"Our conclusion is that we need more F-111s. It's going to be a long time before we get anything else that will come close to this aircraft and its systems—nothing at all before 1980 when the B-1 now is scheduled."

True cost-effectiveness of the F-111 in battle is only appreciated by the combat planners, said a Seventh Air Force operations

officer while Linebacker II, the December 1972 campaign against military targets in the Hanoi/Haiphong area, was going on.

When 500 planes fly strikes against Hanoi—from Navy, Marine, and Air Force sources—there are another 500 planes supporting them. These supporting aircraft are around and above the battle, but don't make the strikes. There are the F-4 combat air patrols, and the tankers that must maintain position for F-4s, A-7s, A-4s, and A-6s to get a drink of fuel if they need it. And there are the electronic counter measures birds, the traffic controllers, the communications relays, and the heavy commitment of those great air rescue crews and copters.

"The F-111s don't need this support armada. They can come into an area, fuel and arm at their home base, then go out and bomb and return with no support from anybody else. Their low-level speed is as great or greater than enemy fighters, and their legs are long enough to bypass the tankers. All this adds up to savings that are dramatically in favor of the low-level swingwingers—the F-111s."

Like the crews say, it's one smart airplane.

THE BEAUTIFUL AMERICAN

HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, there are far too many instances when American business interests have been cited with multiple bad deeds in foreign countries.

It is, therefore, gratifying to learn of the reverse of this type of situation. Unfortunately, too often, as in other of life's instances, we are unaware of the full worth of the good deeds of these "Beautiful Americans" until they are gone.

Such an American was Norvell E. Surbaugh, president of Sears, Roebuck & Co., in Mexico City, whose passing was marked by an editorial entitled "The Beautiful American" in the News, Mexico's English-language newspaper. I would like to share with you and my other colleagues the text of this editorial and Mr. Surbaugh's obituary:

NORVELL SURBAUGH DIES

Norvell E. Surbaugh, prominent civic leader here and president of Sears Roebuck de Mexico, died at the ABC Hospital Monday afternoon after a brief illness.

Funeral services will take place Thursday at the ABC chapel, business associates announced.

Surbaugh, 62 years old, and active in community affairs since his arrival here 10 years ago, came to Mexico from Bogota, Colombia. There he had headed the Sears organization.

He was at the time of his death co-chairman of the 1973 United Community Fund drive which was launched last week.

Among posts he held were: president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Mexico in 1970-71; member of the chamber board; also of the board of the American Society, the Salvation Army, the Mexican Red Cross and the University Club.

He was a member of the Annezeh Temple, Shriners, in Mexico City.

Surbaugh is survived by his wife in Mexico City.

He was born near Folsom, Calif., and was a graduate of the school of languages at the Universidad de Los Andes in Bogota. He served in the U.S. Army infantry in World War II.

For Sears he served in Oakland, San Bernardino, Salinas, and Los Angeles, Calif., and after five years in Colombia he was transferred to Chicago in the International Division, whence he came to Mexico.

Surbaugh was also an enthusiastic music lover, and was adept at playing the vibraphone and the piano. He was an active golfer, and belonged to Mexico City's Churubusco Country Club, as well as to the University Club.

In his youth, he played professional baseball for a Sacramento ball club.

NOTE

CIA. Simmons, S. A. de C. V., deeply regrets the death of their friend Norvell E. Surbaugh, president of Sears Roebuck de Mexico.

THE BEAUTIFUL AMERICAN: AN EDITORIAL

Like the still waters he ran deep. His quiet demeanor told little of his great concern for the important things of life. The death of Norvell Surbaugh is a loss not only to his family, his friends and his business associates. The community he served in so many ways will find him hard to replace. And beyond the immediate circle he influenced, the loss is that of the United States and of Mexico.

Surbaugh was the antithesis of the type publicized so much as The Ugly American. He might well have been described as The Beautiful American. He was a man of confidence and love and joy, for himself and for all around him.

He was living proof that the much maligned business man too often has not been seen in his full dimension. He believes in preserving the dignity of the individual. His philosophy found some immediate satisfaction in his calling as a merchant. As such he tried to give the consumer as much as possible for his money. If money is seen as a symbol of labor, this could be interpreted as implementation of democracy. In action, more than in words.

Surbaugh was a leader in pioneering a revolution in merchandising in Mexico. One in which the consumer became the boss. His firm, Sears Roebuck de Mexico, created thousands of new jobs by building a demand for made-in-Mexico goods.

He was a staunch believer in private enterprise and its lifeblood, competition. At a recent luncheon with the editor of The News the conversation turned to the new federal laws here affecting foreign investment. Would Sears pull out? He laughed, and said: "We have heard of some who changed their minds about investing here. But when we came to Mexico, we cast our lot with Mexico. We are not leaving, we are expanding, for what is good for Mexico is good for Sears."

He spoke of the benefits to business of increased mass purchasing power, of the new needs developed by education and higher standards of living. How different from the image being created of the "multinational" enterprise. Certainly it was inconceivable that Novell Surbaugh could ever do anything that would harm Mexico. He was a man dedicated to improving the lot of his fellowman. All will agree that his time on earth was far too brief. His tall and unforgettable image must remain with us: The Beautiful American.

NIH POSITION ON HUMAN FETUS RESEARCH

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, on May 31, 1973, the House of Representatives passed H.R. 7724, the National Biomed-

cal Research Fellowship, Traineeship, and Training Act of 1973, after adopting an amendment by Mr. RONCALLO of New York which would prohibit the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare from conducting or supporting research on human fetuses.

During the debate on this issue, in a colloquy with Mr. MAZZOLI, I advised the Members of the House that it is the existing policy of the National Institutes of Health that such research not be supported. I refer my colleagues to page 17474 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for May 31, 1973. During the colloquy, I advised Mr. MAZZOLI that I would be glad to submit a statement by the National Institutes of Health with respect to their position on this matter. The statement follows:

NIH POSITIVE ON HUMAN FETUS RESEARCH (Statement by Dr. Robert Berliner, Deputy Director for Science National Institutes of Health)

The National Institutes of Health has always been concerned with the ethical implications of biomedical research. NIH officials have consulted with lawyers, ethicists, clergy, and research administrators about the issues surrounding research involving human subjects including the issues regarding research on live human fetuses.

The NIH does not now support research on live aborted human fetuses and does not contemplate approving the support of such research. We know of no circumstances at present or in the foreseeable future which would justify NIH support of research on live aborted human fetuses.

The National Institute of Child Health and Human Development's National Advisory Council recommended to NIH in March of 1972 that certain guidelines be followed in review of research grant applications concerning the human fetus in the general context of studies concerned with the health of the mother and her unborn child.

In December 1972, a committee was formed by the Director of NIH to make a thorough review of all aspects of NIH policies regarding the use of human subjects in research. The committee is headed by Dr. Ronald Lamont-Havers and is engaged in suggesting specific guidelines for such research, particularly related to mothers and children, institutionalized individuals (such as prisoners, the mentally ill and the mentally retarded), the fetus, and the abortion.

This committee is examining current NIH guidelines to determine whether they are adequate and to make recommendations for modification where necessary. Current NIH guidelines insist that each institution applying for NIH support of research involving human subjects establish a responsible committee which adheres strictly to three basic criteria:

1. Protection of the rights and welfare of the subjects;
2. Weighing of the risks against benefits; and
3. Determination that informed consent is to be obtained by methods that are adequate, appropriate, and consistent with local statutes.

April 12, 1973.

JOB TRAINING FOR SPANISH SPEAKING

HON. E de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, the district I represent, the 15th District of

Texas, contains a large number of people of limited English-speaking ability. Their primary language is Spanish.

Their basic educational background is less than the national norm.

An outgrowth of this fact—and the connection is inescapable—the average median income of Spanish-speaking families is nearly \$3,000 below the average for the rest of the U.S. population. And the unemployment rate in all fields among Spanish-speaking Americans is well above the national average.

The various manpower training programs provided by the Federal Government have not met the needs of individuals with limited ability in dealing with the English language. They are penalized in the areas of job counseling, job referral, institutional training, and many other basic ingredients of existing manpower programs.

It is true that a number of vocational training institutions in my State have successfully conducted programs with the aim of providing skills for persons with Spanish-speaking backgrounds. But these programs, almost without exception, are limited to a preliminary basic education program, perhaps followed by a prevocational program.

Something more is needed.

A long step toward meeting this need would be taken by congressional enactment of a bill—H.R. 8001—I have introduced to provide increased job training opportunities for these neglected individuals. The legislation is designed to make it possible for all types of individuals, institutions, and organizations to participate in needed programs.

The bill provides for Federal assistance to States, local educational institutions, and certain private nonprofit organizations to enable them to conduct bilingual training programs primarily in language other than English.

Also, grants would be made to State and educational institutions so that they could provide training for teachers and related educational personnel to enable them to participate in bilingual job training. This type of training is badly needed.

Further, this legislation provides for the development of instructional materials such as textbooks and audiovisual teaching aids. This kind of research and development is necessary in order to keep abreast of our complex and changing technology and occupational needs.

Mr. Speaker, my proposal not only would equip our Spanish-speaking people to get more and better jobs but also would allow the individual participant to utilize his cultural experience instead of sacrificing it.

In all candor, I believe this legislation represents an investment in the future of many of our citizens who, through no fault of their own, suffer from a lack of adequate employment opportunities. They have much to offer our country and we should do everything possible to make full use of their capabilities. I believe that any programs that help in making a person able to work and take care of his family are at least worth a try.

ITALIAN NATIONAL DAY—1973

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is with fondness and profound respect that I bring to the attention of the House that June 2, 1973, marks the observance of Italian National Day. It has been 27 years since the green, white, and red flag—symbols of democracy, independence, and unity, first flew freely and proudly across this struggling land. With affection we join in rejoicing with our Italian friends in remembering this momentous occasion. For on June 2, 1946, the Italian people went to the polls and democratically elected a government dedicated to the ideals of freedom and justice. This was a catharsis, a rebirth—a new foundation devoted to eradicating the poverty, disease, and destruction so brutally perpetrated by fascist incompetence during the war ravaged years.

Italy has become a strong and vital nation with tenacity and will that has permitted her to rebuild and revitalize her social, political, and economic structures. The devastation that pervaded the land following World War II has been nourished and replaced by a courageous spirit that enabled this country to fulfill its dream of national self-sufficiency. Out of disaster emerged a prominent republic whose achievements in artistic, scientific, and cultural endeavors are boundless and invaluable. The versatile accomplishments of this great nation, as we well know, are to be highly commended and deeply admired.

Italy now ranks as a respected world leader. This dynamic country continues to support Western ideals by maintaining membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and by expressing a firm commitment to peace and freedom.

I am proud of the warm friendship that has endured between the United States and Italy. As the Italian Premier Giulio Andreotti stated recently, this is "a friendship of peoples that no event can jeopardize." Through mutual exchange of esthetic and intellectual ideas, both countries have benefited enormously. It is with high esteem that I extend my heartfelt congratulations to our Italian friends and my fervent wish for continued prosperity and happiness.

THE BUDGET AND THE CONGRESS

HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, as we are all aware, for some time now there has been a lively discussion in this body of the need for the Congress to exercise its predominant role in the Federal budget-making process. At the end of the 92d Congress we established the Joint

Committee on the Budget for the purpose of reviewing congressional budget procedures and recommending such adjustments as may be necessary to make a concerted effort to control spending and maintain our traditional legislative power to establish priorities. That committee has submitted its report and legislation which would effect its recommendations has been introduced by the committee members.

Recently an address by Dr. Arthur Burns, distinguished Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve, addressed the Federal budget problem in a way which I think recommends his remarks to our attention. The budget process and the control of Federal spending is a complex problem and I believe that Dr. Burns' comments deserve our attention as we prepare for this year's appropriations process and look to the consideration of the legislation which has been introduced to deal with the situation. I heartily recommend the following remarks to my colleagues' attention:

REFORM OF THE FEDERAL BUDGET

(Address by Arthur F. Burns)

I deeply appreciate the privilege of addressing this graduating class, for—despite the difference in our ages—I feel that we have much in common. Both you and I have spent some years in the lively atmosphere of a university. Both you and I have been concerned with problems of economics, finance, and administration. Both you and I, as residents of this fascinating city, have also had the opportunity of observing at close range the understanding, selflessness, and compassion that government officials usually bring to their daily tasks; but we have also had the disquieting experience of witnessing some abuses of governmental power.

As graduates of this School of Government and Business Administration, you are embarking on your careers at a moment in history that is fortunate in numerous respects. Our nation is again at peace, the economy is again prospering, the number of good jobs is expanding rapidly, industrial strife is at a minimum, and civil order is returning to our schools and cities. By every reasonable criterion, so it would seem, you can—and should—look forward with confidence to the future of our country and its economy. And yet, if I read the nation's mood correctly, a spirit of unease and even frustration is now widespread.

There are numerous causes of the concern and skepticism with which many Americans, especially young men and women, now view the contemporary scene. But I believe that most of these causes can be captured in two broad generalizations. First, the American people have come to feel that their lives, their fortunes, and their opportunities are increasingly beyond their control, and that they are in large part being shaped for them by their government. Second, more and more Americans have also come to feel that their government lacks either the knowledge or the competence to make good on the promises that it holds out to the people.

It is this simultaneous dependence on government and diminishing confidence in government that is at the heart of the disquiet that so many Americans are experiencing. I wish I could say that this mood will pass quickly, but I cannot do so. Building confidence in social and political institutions is inevitably a long process, and it can only be accomplished if thoughtful citizens are willing to devote their minds and energy to the task.

When I was your age, the problem that particularly concerned university students was the periodic recurrence of economic depressions that wiped out business profits, caused widespread bankruptcy, and brought mass unemployment to wage-earners.

This problem no longer afflicts our society on anything like its earlier scale; and we have made even more marvelous advances in conquering disease, prolonging human life, and reducing the drudgery of physical labor. We have made progress in these fields by diligent application of thought and reason—that is, by identifying each problem, diagnosing its causes, and seeking constructive solutions. It took the best effort of many thoughtful and earnest men to solve the problems that stirred social and political unrest in the past. And it will likewise require much thoughtful and earnest effort to regain the confidence in government which is so essential to our own and our country's future.

In my own profession of economics I have seen large advances in knowledge and also substantial improvements in the application of this knowledge to public policy. I can assure you that those who participated in these developments have found the experience richly rewarding. And it is precisely because you graduates may be able to contribute to the improvement of our political processes that I want to discuss with you today one of the issues that has brought us much trouble and agony in recent years—namely, the need to achieve rational control over the Federal budget.

Those who administer the affairs of government share a common problem with business executives: no private enterprise and no government can do everything at once. Both must choose among many desirable objectives, and the degree to which their efforts prove successful depends largely on their skill in concentrating available resources on those objectives that matter most. That is the very purpose of budgets. The fact that the Federal budget has in recent years gotten out of control should be a matter of concern to all of us. Indeed, I believe that budgetary reform has become essential to the resurgence of our democracy.

Fortunately, political leaders of every persuasion are by now convinced that Congress must change its procedures if it is to exercise effective control over the Government's domestic and international policies. The old debate between free-spending "liberals" and tight-fisted "conservatives" is dying away. For the most part, liberals as well as conservatives realize that the level of Federal spending, and whether it is financed by taxes or by borrowing, have a powerful effect on jobs, prices, and interest rates.

In the Employment Act of 1946 Congress declared it to be the responsibility of the Federal Government to "promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power." The authors of this legislation were well aware that a stimulative fiscal policy can be useful in taking up slack in the economy, and that a restrictive fiscal policy can help to cool an economy that is overheating. Yet, despite the prosperity that our nation has generally experienced since the enactment of that statute, budget deficits have greatly outnumbered surpluses. Experience has thus demonstrated that failure to attend properly to governmental priorities leads to excessive fiscal stimulus, and that this in turn is more apt to produce inflation than jobs.

Recognizing this fact, the Congress is now seeking a way to determine an overall limit on Federal outlays that will be rationally related both to expected revenues and to economic conditions. This is essential not only to achieve overall stabilization objectives, but also to enable Congress to play its expected role in determining national priorities. Early in this session of Congress, Senator Mansfield disclosed that all of the newly elected Sen-

ators had written to him and to Senator Scott urging reform of the budgetary process because "Congress has the obligation to set priorities . . . and present procedures do not in fact achieve that aim." Their unanimous conclusion was that the "first step toward establishing priorities has to be setting a ceiling on appropriations and expenditures;" and that unless this is done at an early stage of each session, the Congress is "not really budgeting at all."

The budget that the President recommends to Congress at the beginning of each session is the product of a systematic process aiming to establish an overall limit on outlays and to determine priorities within that limit. This process, however, has no counterpart in the Congress. Instead, Congressional decisions that determine the ultimate shape of the budget are taken by acting separately—or at times by taking no action—on a hundred or more entirely independent measures. It is only after separate votes have been taken on housing, education, defense, welfare, and whatnot that we can put the pieces together and discover what kind of a budget has emerged.

Thus, members of Congress now vote for or against cleaner air, for or against better schools, and for or against a host of other good things that Government can help to provide. But they have no opportunity to vote on what total outlays should be, or whether an appropriation for a particular purpose is needed badly enough to raise taxes or to make offsetting reductions in other appropriations. Yet choices of this type are far more important to the electorate as a whole than the single proposals on which Congressional voting takes place.

This fragmented consideration of the elements that make up the budget is largely responsible for an almost uninterrupted succession of deficits. Since 1960, we have had a deficit in every year except 1969. Some of these deficits have occurred because of efforts to use the Federal budget as a means of stimulating a lagging economy, but for the most part we have allowed deficits to happen without plan or purpose.

Both the Legislative and Executive Branches of the Government have from time to time recognized the need for reform. In 1946, for example, Congress included provisions for better budget control in the Legislative Reorganization Act, but the experiment was abandoned after a brief trial. Expenditure ceilings enacted for fiscal years 1969 and 1970 again proved ineffective since they could be readily adjusted to accommodate increases in spending. These rubbery ceilings did, however, help to prepare the ground for more meaningful reform. When the President called for a rigid limit of \$250 billion on outlays for fiscal 1973, both the House and the Senate accepted the expenditure ceiling. But they were unable to agree on a method for reducing the previously enacted spending authority so that the \$250 billion limit could in fact be realized.

Actions subsequently taken by the President to hold outlays for fiscal 1973 to \$250 billion have been criticized on the ground that impounding of funds enables the Administration to substitute its priorities for those established by the Congress. Concern over possible usurpation of Congressional prerogatives is entirely understandable. However, this controversy should not divert our attention from the broad political consensus that has already emerged on the need to limit outlays. If the Congress does the job itself, there will be no occasion in the future for the Administration to cut billions out of authorized outlays in order to achieve the overall level of spending that Congress agrees is appropriate.

Although last year's efforts to impose a legislative budget ceiling proved disappointing, they did prompt the Congress to ponder closely the need for budgetary reform and to

create a Joint Study Committee on Budget Control.

This Committee has made excellent use of the brief time it has been in existence. In a recently released report, it recommends specific and practical procedures by which Congress could control the level of Federal outlays, the priorities among programs, and the size of any deficit or surplus. Bills to carry out these recommendations have now been introduced in both the House and Senate, with support from all members of the Joint Committee, as well as others in the Congress.

It would seem, therefore, that prospects for meaningful budget reform are now very good, perhaps better than at any time since the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921. I find the Joint Study Committee's recommendations most encouraging, but I also think that they need to be supplemented with systematic and frequent review of the effectiveness of Federal programs.

Traditionally, officials in charge of an established program have not been required to make a case for their entire appropriation request each year. Instead, they have had to justify only the increase they seek above last year's level. Substantial savings could undoubtedly be realized by zero-base budgeting, that is, by treating each appropriation request as if it were for a new program. Such budgeting will be difficult to achieve, not only because of opposition from those who fear that it would mean loss of benefits they now enjoy, but also because it would add heavily to the burdens of budget-making. It may be, therefore, that Congress will reply initially on procedures that ensure reappraisal of each program only every two or three years. But whatever form it takes, a method must be found for screening out programs whose costs clearly exceed their benefits, while assuring a satisfactory level of performance for programs that contribute significantly to the general welfare.

The day is past—if indeed, it ever really existed—when only the well-to-do need concern themselves with economy in government. Perhaps there was a time when those who benefited from the status quo could block social reform by inveighing against governmental spending. But today Big Government is no longer a slogan for appealing to some and frightening others. For better or worse, it has become part of our lives. And those who would use government as an instrument of reform have perhaps a larger stake in eliminating wasteful programs than those who resist change.

We have passed the point where new programs can be added to old ones and paid for by heavier borrowing. With the economy expanding vigorously, with inflation persisting stubbornly, with our balance of payments in serious trouble, with two devaluations of the dollar just behind us, we clearly cannot afford to continue large budget deficits. It is sobering to reflect that in spite of the President's determined efforts to hold down Federal spending, the budget he originally presented for this fiscal year called for outlays that exceeded estimated receipts by about \$25 billion.

In principle, taxes can always be raised to pay for more public services, but the resistance to heavier taxation has become enormous. If we count outlays by all governments, State and local as well as Federal, we find an increasingly large fraction of the wealth our citizens produce being devoted to the support of government. In 1929, total government spending came to about 10 per cent of the dollar value of our national output. Since then the figure has risen to 20 per cent in 1940, 30 per cent in 1965, and 35 per cent in 1972. I believe that most citizens feel that one-third of our national output is quite enough for the tax collector, particularly since the expansion in government outlays has not produced the kind of benefits they have a right to expect.

The key to rebuilding confidence in government is improved performance by government, and budgetary reform can move us powerfully toward this goal. Rational control of the budget by the Congress should improve our economic stabilization policies. It should facilitate judicious choice among governmental activities. It should improve evaluation of governmental performance. It should help us avoid abuses of power—whether they arise in the world of business, or labor, or government itself. And it should restore to the Congress some of the prestige that it has lost as a result of many years of neglect.

I trust that the members of this graduating class will join other citizens throughout the country to see to it that budgetary reform is carried out with the promptness and on the scale that this nation's interests require. Let us always remember that budgets are a means for promoting national objectives. For those of you who enter public service, better budgeting can offer more meaningful and rewarding careers. For all Americans, it can mean a rejuvenation of spirit as government becomes more responsive to our aspirations and more effective in fulfilling them.

CHEVROLET PLANT IN BUFFALO MARKS 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 50th anniversary of the opening in Buffalo of the East Delavan Avenue plant of the Chevrolet motor division of the General Motors Corp.

This plant, in the heart of my congressional district, is an integral part of both the company and our business community.

Opened in 1923 as one of Chevrolet's early car and truck assembly plants, it turned out thousands of vehicles before being converted to production of major automobile parts just before World War II.

When the United States was plunged into the war in 1941, the plant immediately changed over to war production. Its 6,000 employees turned out components for more than 60,000 Pratt & Whitney 1300-W military aircraft engines.

After the war, the plant was converted to the machining and assembly of Chevrolet front and rear axles, later expanding to other parts.

During the Korean conflict, the plant again arose to meet defense needs by retooling some facilities for the manufacture of R-3350 Wright aircraft engine parts and CD-500 tank transmission gears.

Since it was established in 1923, the plant has more than doubled in size, now providing a million square feet of floor space on a site of nearly 50 acres.

The plant makes a major contribution to the Buffalo area economy. Its \$42 million annual payroll is augmented by purchases of some \$13 million from 1,200 local suppliers.

The employees have excellent records of production and participated in developing the pride of workmanship program which was one of Chevrolet's early employee motivation efforts.

The plant was one of the first to use the small group meeting concept in employee-management communications.

During 3 of the past 5 years, the plant has received the Chevrolet Safety Award and in 1968 received a special award from General Motors for working more than 6 million man-hours without a lost-time accident.

Mr. Speaker, it is interesting to note that the Buffalo plant also has contributed to top management in the company.

I refer in particular to James W. McLernon, manufacturing manager of Chevrolet Motor Division. A native of Kenmore, N.Y., he joined the company as an hourly rate employee in 1949 and worked his way up the line, including management assignments in the Buffalo plant.

Gerald H. Hilbers, Jr., the Buffalo plant manager since 1970, has been on the Buffalo scene with Chevrolet since 1952.

A search of plant records shows that there are at least 10 original employees of the Buffalo plant, all now retired, who reside in the Buffalo area. They are: James P. Monester, Helmer H. Danielson, Roy Charlesworth, George Ford, John W. Thuerck, all of Buffalo; Marvin C. Yocum of Clarence; Joseph J. Lovas of Kenmore; William F. Bommer of West Seneca; Chester R. Halm of Getzville; and Andrew D. Martin of Fort Erie, Ontario.

Mr. Speaker, this is a proud occasion not only for the company and its thousands of present and former employees, but also for the entire community.

As a part of my remarks, I include the text of the 50th anniversary announcement by Mr. McLernon, a Buffalo plant alumnus now in top management:

REMARKS BY JAMES W. McLERNON ON CHEVROLET'S 50TH ANNIVERSARY IN BUFFALO

Fifty years ago—which is a period longer than most of us have spent on earth—the Chevrolet Buffalo plant went into production.

It was built on the site of a former city dump. We have proof of this as several times when additions were made to the plant, our contractors found evidence of the dump as they dug. We uncovered old bottles, furniture and items that today would be classified as antiques.

When the construction work was completed in the summer of 1923, the plant had 400,000 square feet of floor space on a 31-acre plot. Today, the Buffalo plant has one-million square feet of floor space—more than double the original plant—and we have expanded to 50 acres in size.

Originally, Chevrolet Buffalo was an assembly plant and we assembled the first car in August, 1923. The initial production capacity was approximately 200 units a day, or about 4,000 a month. When the plant phased out auto production in 1941, prior to the second World War, we were producing 8,000 vehicles a month. During the 1923-1941 period, the plant produced approximately one-million vehicles.

During the 1941-1945 period, we produced Pratt & Whitney engine components—which were shipped across town to the Tonawanda plant for assembly. Since 1946, the Chevrolet Buffalo plant has been in the axle and steering linkage manufacturing business. The plant produced 635,000 Chevelle axles, 405,000 Vega axles and 3,470,000 steering linkages last year.

PLANT EMPLOYS OVER 3,300

Employment in 1923 averaged 600 employees with a payroll of \$358,677 that year. Today, the plant has over 3,300 employees and the payroll in 1972 was nearly \$43 million. If my division is correct, the average employee in 1923 received almost \$598 annually, while last year the average hourly employee's gross earnings were more than \$12,000—and that does not include substantial additional employee benefits, including life insurance, Blue Cross-Blue Shield, retirement program . . . to name a few.

With the strong demand for our products in 1973, I am sure a new payroll record will be established. This is predicated on the fact that the national economy maintains its present level, and I am confident that we can negotiate a new contract with the United Auto Workers without any interruption in production.

The Chevrolet plants in the Buffalo area have a long history of being able to resolve any differences between labor and management at local levels and this is the way it should be.

Chevrolet Buffalo has been a key factor in the economy of the Niagara Frontier for all these fifty years. Aside from the wages paid to Chevrolet employees, we make purchases from more than 1,200 local suppliers and paid nearly \$13 million for these items in 1972.

The plant operations consume more than 3¼ million gallons of fuel oil, use nearly 90 million kilowatt hours of electricity, use and purify more than 260 million gallons of water and over 200 million cubic feet of gas each year.

EXPANSION FOR AXLES

Displaying its faith in the Buffalo area, the Division added 37,000 square feet of floor space to the east side of the main plant to provide space for the machining and assembly of axles for the Chevelle line, which was introduced during the 1964 model year. Additional facilities added since then include:

1965—A 147,000 square foot addition to plant 3 to expand steering linkage production; a 49,000 square foot addition for material storage and garage facilities; an oil-fired power plant was built to replace the former coal burning facility; 16 acres of additional property was acquired to provide ample parking space for employees.

1967—We constructed a new heat treat building of 47,000 square feet, and a 58,000 square foot marshalling building.

I told you, when I worked at Buffalo in 1967, that we were stepping ahead on our own to construct a new waste water treatment facility that clarifies water used in manufacturing processes prior to discharge into the public sewer system. Water used in manufacturing processes is discharged from the plant virtually as clean as it arrives.

Although the waste treatment's main purpose is to purify outgoing water, the facility also plays an important role in air pollution control. Air leaving the plant is scrubbed in an air washing process to prevent objectionable vapors and particulates from being discharged into the atmosphere.

In the people area, Chevrolet and Trico Products share the top spot in industrial employment in Buffalo. Incidentally, we are proud to be one of Trico's largest customers for wiper assemblies and other products. Both businesses employ over 3,300 people.

As an area employer, including Tonawanda and our zone offices, Chevrolet employs over 15,000 people. Buffalo is a major plant city, not only in Chevrolet but also General Motors planning.

OVER HALF LIVE IN CITY

More than half of our employees—55%—live in the city of Buffalo. The remaining 45% reside in the communities surrounding the city in Erie and Niagara County.

Our people, all members of the Buffalo No. 1 Team, are the best employees anywhere and graciously share their time and talents in community activities. Through Chevrolet, our employees are our greatest asset.

One of Chevrolet's early motivation programs was developed here at the Buffalo plant in 1961 when "Pride of Workmanship" was introduced. This program gives individual recognition to employees by providing them with a personal "Pride of Workmanship" chart on which to plot the quality of their work.

It also provides the employee with a means of direct communication with management regarding any problems being encountered with materials, tools, equipment or anything else related to the job.

Today, the success or failure of any business, your own included, is directly related to the "Pride of Workmanship" of every employee and the desire to "do the job right the first time."

Employee cooperation and participation in Chevrolet programs have generated a "team spirit" and esprit de corps at Buffalo that is envied throughout the industry.

BUFFALO PLANT WINS HONORS

During three of the past five years, the plant has earned the Chevrolet Safety Award for attaining an accident frequency and severity rate lower than the average of the rest of the heavy machining industry. Buffalo and Tonawanda plants are four of our safest plants.

Employee participation in the payroll savings plan is among the highest in General Motors plants. During 1972 the U.S. Savings Bond campaign participation rate was 99.3%. Employee contributions to the local United Fund approximate \$120,000 annually with per capita giving being among the highest in the large industries division.

A high percentage of plant employees participate in the employee suggestion plan on a regular basis. During 1972, awards totaling \$72,550 were made to employees for their accepted ideas. A single award of \$10,000 was included in this total. Chevrolet Buffalo employees are proud of this record. The community should be too.

Training opportunities are afforded employees to prepare themselves for advancement through the Tuition Refund program, apprenticeship and employee-in-training programs.

I have said many times, "In Chevrolet, our employees are our greatest asset." This is doubly true in Buffalo where we have been residents for so many years. We are proud of our employees and they have made this a key facility in our business.

As we approach the Golden Anniversary of this plant, we salute the men and women of Chevrolet Buffalo who have done so much to make their plant an outstanding industrial center in the industry.

I know the citizens of Buffalo are as proud of Chevrolet as we, the present and past employees are. We have great confidence in the future of this plant and the future of this fine city.

DILLON GRAHAM

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 24, 1973

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to associate myself with the remarks of the Representative from Georgia, Mr. FLYNT, on the retirement of Dillon Graham as Associated Press newsman for Capitol Hill during the past 25 years.

This culminates an outstanding 44-year career of Mr. Graham with Associated

Press. He epitomizes the very best in the newspaper profession. He is always fair, always objective and accurate, and has a "nose for news" that puts him at the top of the profession. I am grateful that I have had the chance through the years to visit with him often and grateful that he chose to use his great talents for the benefit of our country always. I wish for him every happiness in his retirement.

PMA'S MEDICARE DRUG PROPOSAL IS NO PROPOSAL AT ALL

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, it looks as if the drug industry wants to write a blank check to itself, drawn on the Treasury of the United States.

The background is that there is broad support in Congress for legislation to provide out-of-the-hospital prescription drug coverage under medicare for those who suffer from the most common or life-threatening chronic diseases of the elderly. My bill—H.R. 878—is cosponsored by 110 other Members, while in the other body a companion bill—S. 174—introduced by Senators JOSEPH MONTOYA, RUSSELL LONG, and ABRAHAM RIBICOFF has 29 additional cosponsors.

This maintenance drug coverage would target the medicare dollar toward patients with chronic diseases who need drugs on a continuing basis for a lengthy time. The legislation set up a formulary committee to select the specific drugs to be covered and require a \$1 copayment by the medicare patient for each prescription. Ordinarily, \$1 would be the full cost to the medicare patient, and he would not have to pay a monthly premium, keep records or file claims.

Evidently the drug industry finds this legislation a bitter pill to swallow, for it is readying a counterproposal. The May bulletin of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association outlines it in a report on a panel discussion held at PMA's annual meeting. The participants were the association's five division directors, including Bruce J. Brennan, vice president and general counsel, and the moderator was PMA President C. Joseph Stetler.

This is the lead paragraph of the report:

The pharmaceutical industry and the PMA navigated successfully through a legislative and regulatory thicket during the past year, and the Association's docket of activities now in progress is designed to anticipate needs of the industry and the public before problems arise.

Later, the report says:

On another legislative front, PMA has initiated action along with the National Association of Retail Druggists and the American Medical Association on a proposal for Medicare outpatient drug benefits. Bruce Brennan described the program, which would be voluntary, in response to a question. Under the proposal, he said, Medicare recipients would pay a monthly premium of about \$5 and a copayment of \$1 on each prescription.

There will be no formulary and there will be first dollar coverage; that is, no deducti-

ble is anticipated, Brennan explained. The program would cover all prescription drugs, and prices would be based on usual or customary charges. Brennan said that the proposal should be introduced before the end of June.

Mr. Speaker, the PMA opposes the formulary concept embodied in H.R. 878, and now wishes to make its opposition explicit in the form of rival legislation. I suggest that the PMA proposal outlined above—a voluntary program, with a monthly premium of about \$5 and no formulary—is really no proposal at all.

It is nothing more than a cleverly cosmetic request to the Congress to gloss over the two major questions involved in a medicare drug benefit: How to provide life-sustaining prescription drugs to elderly citizens who cannot afford them, and how to avoid socking the Government for high-priced drugs when safe and effective versions of those drugs are available at moderate prices.

AMENDED ACT FOR ELDERLY: SIGNIFICANT

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD the text of an article describing the recent amendments to the Older Americans Act as "significant steps forward for older Americans."

The author of the article, which appeared in the June 1973 issue of the AARP News Bulletin, is John B. Martin, the distinguished former Commissioner of the Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, who is now a special consultant to the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons.

Mr. Martin's article follows:

AMENDED ACT FOR ELDERLY: 'SIGNIFICANT'
(By John B. Martin)

The amendments to the Older Americans Act recently passed by the Congress and signed by the President are significant steps forward for older Americans.

These amendments, the product of a bipartisan Congressional compromise which alleviated the threat of a second presidential veto (President Nixon vetoed a stronger version of this legislation last year), represent the thinking of both parties in Congress after extensive hearings as to the best means of strengthening the Administration on Aging (AoA) and getting more and better services for older citizens who need them.

The legislation incorporates the Administration's recommendations for unifying the planning and delivery of services at state and local levels. It is largely based on the recommendations of the 1971 White House Conference on Aging, and it thus represents also the judgment of the 3,000 conference delegates from throughout the nation who came to Washington representing nearly 21 million older Americans.

Several features of the original measure which NRTA-AARP strongly supported were eliminated or altered in the final bill to prevent another veto by President Nixon. The three-year funding authorization was reduced from \$1½ billion to \$543 million, but appropriation of "such funds as may be neces-

sary" was fortunately approved for those portions of the Act where dollar authorizations are not specified. A title of the bill providing for the training of middle-aged and older workers was eliminated.

On the other hand, Title IX of the bill, providing for public service employment of a limited number of low-income older workers who would not otherwise be employed, was retained. Title IX broadens a proven pilot program—Operation Mainstream—which is designed to provide useful public service work at a minimum wage for low-income older workers who are ready, willing and able to work but are unable to compete in the regular job market. This program reflects the fact that there are many important community jobs that need to be done but which private industry, concerned with profits, will not do. It also emphasizes the fact that for many older workers, the government must be the "employer of last resort" if these older citizens are ever again to find gainful work.

Despite the Administration's vocal support of the "work ethic," it originally opposed this program on the grounds that it was "categorical." Had this opposition prevailed, many low-income older workers would have been consigned to permanent unemployment and possible dependence upon welfare assistance. It is clearly better to encourage the desire to be independent and self-supporting by the payment of a small wage for needed community service work rather than pursuing a policy which would lead to further dependency and Federal "hand-outs."

The new legislation has a number of other important goals. It would seek to:

Develop the role of the AOA as a focal point of Federal action on aging and to upgrade its status within HEW.

Create a Federal Council on Aging with broad powers to advise the President on matters affecting older Americans. The council would have authority to study interrelationships of Federal, state and local benefit programs, to study the impact of taxes on the elderly, and to examine the effects of allotment formulae for area planning and social service programs.

Strengthen state and area agencies on aging to enable them to provide comprehensive coordinated services for the elderly at local levels.

Create a long-needed national information and resource clearinghouse for the aging to make possible the spread of knowledge and techniques developed by research.

Expand research, demonstration and training programs.

Expand volunteer service programs for the elderly—Foster Grandparent and Retired Senior Volunteer Programs.

Provide for special demonstration projects in areas of transportation, housing,

education, employment and pre-retirement.

Amend various Acts to provide greater opportunities for continuing education for older people.

Provide community service jobs for low-income persons, 55 and older, in the fields of education, social services, recreation services, conservation, environmental restoration and economic development.

These amendments do not constitute a random "grab-bag" of services for the elderly. They are priority objectives selected from among the many recommendations of the White House Conference on Aging.

Participants in that historic conference were—and still are—seeking positive results. They remember the President's pledge that their recommendations would be acted upon and not allowed to "gather dust" on a shelf. They have been heartened by the recent increase in Social Security benefits, the provision for automatic cost-of-living increases in benefits, the increase in the amount which older persons may earn without loss of Social Security benefits, and the provision for a federally guaranteed minimum income for all older persons. These are important advances. Particularly in the field of services for the elderly, however, much remains to be done and the new amendments to the Older Americans Act represent a much-needed move in that direction.

The fact that an acceptable compromise between Congress and the Administration was reached in this matter is a credit to both and a happy ending to a most unproductive conflict.

MALCOLM X REMEMBERED

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, June 4, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, known to most of us as Malcolm X, meant much to black America.

The deep and profound feelings for Malcolm were no more eloquently expressed than by Actor-Producer Ossie Davis at the time of Malcolm's death.

The following article appeared in the May 19 edition of the New York Amsterdam News, the community newspaper of Harlem. I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

IN MEMORY OF MALCOLM X

This week marks the birthday anniversary of Malcolm X, known to many as El Hajj

Malik El Shabazz.

We can think of no higher tribute to Malcolm X than to reprint a portion of the eloquent tribute paid him at his death by actor-producer Ossie Davis.

On that day, Ossie Davis said in part. . .

"There are those who will consider it their duty, as friends of the Negro people, to tell us to revile him, to flee, even from the presence of his memory, to save ourselves by writing him out of the history of our turbulent times.

"Many will ask what Harlem finds to honor in this stormy, controversial and bold young captain—and we will smile.

"Many will say turn away! away from this man, for he is not a man but a demon, a monster, a subverter and an enemy of the Black man—and we will smile.

"They will say that he is of hate—a fanatic, a fascist—who can only bring evil to the cause for which you struggle!

"And we will answer and say unto them: Did you ever talk to Brother Malcolm? Did you ever touch him, or have him smile at you? Did you ever really listen to him? Did he ever do a mean thing? Was he ever himself associated with violence or any public disturbance? For if you did you would know him."

"And if you knew him you would know why we must honor him: Malcolm was our manhood, our living, Black manhood! This was his meaning to his people. And, in honoring him, we honor the best in ourselves.

"Last year, from Africa, he wrote these words to a friend: 'My journey' he says, 'is almost ended, and I have a much broader scope than when I started out, which I believe will add new life and dimension to our struggle for freedom and honor, and dignity in the States.'

"I'm writing these things so that you will know for a fact the tremendous sympathy and support we have among the African States for our Human Rights struggle."

UNITED FRONT

"The main thing is that we keep a United Front where-in our most valuable time and energy will not be wasted fighting each other."

"However much we may have differed with him—or with each other about him and his value as a man, let his going from us serve only to bring us together, now. Consigning these mortal remains to earth, the common mother of all, secure in the knowledge that what we place in the ground is no more now a man—but a seed—which after the winter of our discontent—will come forth again to meet us. And we will know him then for what he was and is—a Prince our own Black shining Prince!—who didn't hesitate to die, because he loved us so."

SENATE—Tuesday, June 5, 1973

The Senate met at 11:30 a.m. and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. EASTLAND).

PRAYER

Dr. Karl Bennet Justus, executive director, Military Chaplains Association, offered the following prayer:

Eternal God and Father of us all, whose word hath told us that Thou art "our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble" extend Thy hand of benediction over this great land in the midst of turmoil and strife currently afflicting the Nation. Undergird us with Thine everlasting arms of strength; grant us wisdom and courage for the facing of these

days so that we shall be free from fear "though the Earth be shaken and the mountains be cast into the midst of the sea."

Bless the President of our Nation and every member of our Government as they daily confront the myriad problems within and without our borders.

Thou hast said "The truth shall make you free." Help us to put a premium on truth and justice, integrity and honor, that we may be free, indeed. Renew and buttress the moral and spiritual foundations that made and hath kept America a great nation, never forgetting that "where there is no vision the people perish."

May we chart a course in which truth

and righteousness shall prevail over inuendo and rumor. And from the depth of our souls we pray "God bless America—from sea to shining sea."

In Thy holy name, we pray. Amen.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Berry, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 3801) to extend civil service Federal employees group life insurance and Federal employees health benefits coverage to U.S. nationals employed by the Federal Government, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.